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Obukhov, Kampelman on Strategic Arms Curbs

PM151025 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy dispatch under the rubric "Reports From Abroad": "The USSR-United States: Successful Talks Are Possible"]

[Text] Geneva—On 14 January, the Soviet and American delegations to the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons resumed their places at the table after a recess.

Observers in Geneva primarily draw attention to the fact that the participants in the talks have a complex task to resolve: to meet a tough deadline for drawing up a draft treaty to reduce strategic offensive weapons by 50%. Allow me to remind you that the Soviet and American sides have agreed to draw up the new draft treaty by the next Soviet-American summit meeting which is planned for the first half of this year.

The participants in the talks already have the bare bones of a joint draft text of an eventual treaty, which was worked out last fall. True, they admit that there are a lot of notes and question marks in the margins that have been made by both sides.

As far as the stand taken by the Soviet side is concerned, Geneva observers stress its uncompromising stance on the question of abiding by the ABM Treaty. In their dispatches to newspapers and agencies, journalists are citing a statement by A.A. Obukhov, head of the Soviet delegation, who stressed on his arrival in Geneva that the draft treaty on a 50% reduction in strategic offensive weapons must be signed while preserving the 1972 ABM Treaty.

"Fulfilling the pledges contained in the treaty is a condition of maintaining strategic stability and, consequently, is also a necessary precondition of making a 50% reduction in Soviet and American strategic offensive weapons," the Soviet representative emphasized in his statement to the press. Is the Soviet side confident that the talks will succeed? "There is a great deal of hard work to be done," the head of the Soviet delegation replied. But he made it clear at this point that the preconditions for success do exist.

M. Kampelman, head of the American delegation, was more cautious in his predictions. "Our job will be a hard one," he said. And he added that he "could not give a full guarantee of success." What does he see as the possible difficulties? The head of the U.S. delegation gives the main task as being that of clarifying the period of time for staying with the ABM Treaty. To this he adds a problem connected with the two sides' "different attitudes" to measures making it possible to "enhance our capability in the field of strategic defense systems in order to strengthen elements of repulsion."

Even from these statements made public before the beginning of the talks, which will be held behind closed doors, one can see that the participants have to solve a series of complex tasks. But something else is also clear: The delegations have come with the intention of achieving success.

Obukhov TV Statement

LD142251 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2014 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan (TASS)—The Soviet side favors coming to agreement on profound reductions in the strategic nuclear weapons arsenals, said Aleksey Obukhov, head of the USSR delegation at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons. In an interview broadcast today on Soviet television, he stressed that thus a new and even more important step on the path toward a nuclear-free world would be taken.

The participants in the Geneva talks, Aleksey Obukhov went on to say, face a responsible task: the preparation of a draft treaty on a 50% reduction in the strategic offensive amendments of the USSR and the United States in conditions of nonwithdrawal from the ABM Treaty over an agreed term. Such is the mandate that has been given to the delegations by the leaders of the USSR and the United States as a result of their meeting in Washington.

Eight rounds have been held in Geneva since March 1985. The head of the Soviet delegation noted that a qualitatively new phase at the talks started after the Soviet Union put forward, on 15 January 1986, a major disarmament program, the head of which is the idea of creating a nuclear-free world. The first specific steps in achieving this historic task were embodied in the treaty on the elimination of nuclear missiles in the European continent, signed during the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington. Aleksey Obukhov stressed that valuable experience, use of which would serve the successful solution of issues on the elaboration of a new agreement on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons, has been acquired in the process of working on the treaty.

Further on Obukhov

LD141923 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1555 GMT 14 Jan 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] The next task in the struggle against the arms race is the 50% reduction in strategic offensive weapons. It is to this question that the routine round of the Geneva talks between the USSR and the United States, which have just begun, will be mainly devoted. A large amount of complicated work has to be done, but there are good prerequisites for success. These are the joint instructions on a broad circle of key questions of a future treaty on reducing strategic armaments prepared as a result of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington.

The head of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva talks, Comrade Obukhov, spoke at a press conference.

[Begin Obukhov recording] I would like to stress that reaching an accord on preserving the 1972 ABM Treaty is of particular importance. The observance of the obligations contained in it is a condition for maintaining strategic stability, and consequently an essential precondition for implementation of the 50% reductions in the Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive armaments. [end recording]

Chernyshev on Kampelman

LD141927 Moscow TASS in English 1839 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

On the eve of the opening of the 9th regular round of talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva, chief U.S. negotiator Max Kampelman made a statement saying that the U.S.-Soviet summit in Washington had lent a further impetus to movement toward the conclusion of a treaty for halving strategic offensive arms and that both delegations had been instructed by the leaders of their countries to work toward the completion of the treaty at the earliest possible date.

In his words, "the U.S. delegation is ready to pursue that goal and fulfil its responsibilities".

I think that the statement could have been a cause for optimism, but for two of his remarks.

One boiled down to an obviously wrong interpretation of another instruction by the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, an instruction directly connected with the drafting of an agreement on strategic offensive arms reduction.

Kampelman claimed that "a second objective at these negotiations is to reach for a treaty in the area of strategic defenses".

Apparently, he has not studied carefully enough the joint Soviet-U.S. statement at summit level, which speaks in no uncertain terms about instructions for the delegations—taking into account the preparation of the strategic offensive arms treaty—to work out an agreement that would commit the sides to observe the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972, and not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty, for a specified period of time.

So in Geneva it is needed to work not at all toward a treaty on strategic defenses, as the high-ranking U.S. representative claims. His posture indicates a desire to legalize the space arms race under the cover of a treaty "in the area of strategic defenses".

There is no doubt that Kampelman is aware how during the Washington talks the U.S. side sought to sever or at least weaken the relationship between the ABM Treaty and the future treaty on strategic offensive arms and how the sides were finally able to preserve the objectively existing linkage between cuts in these arms and compliance with the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972.

Attempts at the negotiations in Geneva to replace the issue of reinforcing the ABM Treaty with the issue of strategic defenses are hardly evidence of the U.S. delegation's readiness to move toward the agreed goal and honor the commitments made by the U.S. leaders at the summit level.

Nearly everyone in the world realizes the fundamental significance of abidance by the ABM Treaty to guaranteeing strategic stability. And this significance will only keep growing, rather than subside, in the course of cuts in strategic offensive arms.

The absolute majority of countries, including U.S. allies, are for preserving the ABM Treaty.

One is at least puzzled also at Kampelman's assertion that not only the United States, but also the Soviet Union is "engaged in extensive exploration of whether modern technology can develop defenses against nuclear ballistic missiles".

This is a clear distortion of the real state of affairs, a distortion dictated by a desire to make the USSR appear to blame alongside the United States for preparations for an arms race in space.

The Soviet Union is conducting basic research which in some areas covers also problems that in the United States are being dealt with as part of the SDI effort.

But the USSR is a committed opponent of SDI, it remains an objective of its policy to prevent the extension of the arms race to outer space, and it is not going to create an SDI system of its own.

Kampelman, undoubtedly, knows all this full well.

After reading his statement, one is apt to ask: What has been the basis for the instructions he has received for the new round of talks? It can hardly be assumed that that basis has been the joint statement signed by the Soviet and U.S. top leaders in Washington.

But can it be, perhaps, that the matter is not at all in the instructions?

One could also like to wish that the U.S. negotiators in Geneva familiarized themselves with the Soviet position of principle once again.

It is our conviction that nuclear disarmament is incompatible with preparations for "Star Wars": One may not destroy weapons with one hand, while building them with another, one may not promise humanity a chance to survive, while killing that chance with an SDI project.

Solton Comments on Disarmament Process

LD141733 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] Friday marks 2 years since the Soviet Union called on all nations to enter the 21st century without nuclear, chemical, or any other weapons of mass destruction. Here is a commentary by Yuriy Solton. He writes:

A statement to that effect by the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said specifically this country suggested consistent, stage-by-state work to rid the world of nuclear weapons, completing the entire 15-year-long process by the end of this century. This proposal was backed up by a concrete program taking account of a balance of interests and containing distinctly formulated goals and approaches to tasks. This program hadn't been drafted from scratch. In advancing it, the Soviet leadership had taken account of the present-day realities including the sentiment of the people tired of living under permanent strain and the threat of self-destruction posed to humanity by the build-up of nuclear arsenals.

Some people failed to correctly asseess the Soviet program at once. They described it as a utopia, a beautiful dream and a striking slogan. Life, however, has introduced its corrections. Today we are witnessing a process of translating this so-called utopia into reality. A treaty has been signed to scrap on a global scale both Soviet and American medium- and shorter-range missiles, that is as many as 2,600 warheads and delivery vehicles. Another disarmament agreement is being drafted at the Geneva talks, envisaging 50 percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons, given the observance of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty during a coordinated period of time. Also pending is an international convention imposing a total ban on chemical weapons in providing for the destruction of thei. stockpiles. In this way the principles of a nuclear-free and non-violent world are being translated into concrete acitons.

A new political thinking underlining the Soviet approach to the key international problems has been working up its way but with difficulty and by breaking the old stereotypes. It would be too early so far to speak of a turning point, but one has every reason for stating that a virtual process of improving the international situation is underway. Here is how Mikhail Gorbachev has described this process:

[Begin Gorbachev recording in Russian, fading into English translation] We are hoping the entire world community, in the first place the American and Soviet people, progressive forces in all countries, will double their efforts to protect the first shoots of nuclear disarmament that has worked up its way through the concrete thickness of prejudice and hostility. Today the most important thing is to unite efforts worldwide in promoting the positive trends and fostering mutual understanding and cooperaiton. [end recording]

Weapons Nonproliferation Talks in Washington

LD150914 Moscow TASS in English 0714 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 15 TASS—The 10th round of bilateral Soviet-American consultations on nuclear weapons non-proliferation was held in Washington on January 11-14. During the consultations, the sides examined a wide range of issues, including prospects for strengthening the international regime of nuclear weapons non-proliferation, observation of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and mutual support of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), especially its role in nuclear weapons non-proliferation.

The Soviet delegation was headed by B. Semenov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the use of atomic energy, and the U.S. delegation—by Richard Kennedy, ambassador at large. The consultations were held in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. The two sides confirmed their interest in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and in rendering assistance to other countries in getting benefits from peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

The Soviet delegation head was received for a talk by M. Armacost, under secretary of state for political affairs.

Editorial Praises Nuclear-Free World Policy

PM151102 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Into the 21st Century Without Nuclear Weapons: The Central Thrust of Our Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Today is the second anniversary of the publication of the Statement of M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which set forth a package of major, long-term foreign policy acts of a fundamental nature. Chief among them is the program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world, divided into three stages—up to the year 2000.

As was noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th party congress, this program welds together the philosophy of forming a secure world in the nuclear and space age and a platform of concrete actions. The party congress proclaimed the struggle for its implementation to be a central avenue of the USSR's foreign policy for the coming years.

What prompted this bold, enterprising decision? This decision, on the one hand, inspired the broad masses of the planet's people and met with the support of many governments, and, on the other hand, caused consternation in the camp of those who have long pinned their political hopes, and to a large degree their economic hopes, on the arms race! It was prompted by the new thinking. "It is time to abandon the stone age way of thinking, when the main concern was to acquire a bigger stick or a heavier stone," the 15 January 1986 Statement said, in particular.

The Soviet Union counterposed to the stereotypes and dogmas of the past the concept of a united, interdependent world, within which the political systems that have grown up historically on earth would coexist and compete with each other. Thus, and only thus, can mankind's survival be ensured in the nuclear age.

In putting forward this impressive package of new foreign policy initiatives, we did not, of course, expect it to be simple, or easy, to implement them.

The first reaction among Western politicians to the Soviet program of building a nuclearfree, secure world was this: It is utopian. Many thought this document merely identified a distant goal of no topical significance.

Here the point was not only that the Soviet concept of a nuclear-free world met with a hostile reception from committed opponents of disarmament, first and foremost, from the forces of monopoly capital, who build their prosperity on the arms race. Progress toward the goal was also hampered by the inertia that had grown up in recent decades in the way of thinking: Many people believed the dangerous myth that nuclear weapons help keep the peace.

But today we can see clearly that the ideas incorporated in the Soviet concept of a nuclear-free world are forging a path, albeit with difficulty and through struggle. A real process of improvement, of normalization of international relations, is evident. Although there has not yet been a breakthrough in the struggle to build a nuclear-free world, a start has been made.

Let us recall that back in November 1985, as a result of the first Soviet-American summit meeting, the USSR and the United States registered their commitment to "prevent an arms race in space and stop it on earth, limit and reduce nuclear arms, and strengthen strategic stability." Then there was Reykjavik, where the Soviet side put on the conference table a whole package of major measures making it possible to implement that commitment, and where agreement in principle on nuclear disarmament was reached. Only the American side's reluctance to renounce the militarization of space then hampered the preparation of corresponding agreements.

Finally, there was the truly historic summit meeting in Washington. Its chief result was, of course, the signing of the treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles, intermediate- and shorter-range. Thus the first step was taken along the path to the real destruction of the nuclear arsenal. What had only recently seemed utopian to many people began to take on real shape. This treaty, of great significance in itself, showed the whole world the possibility of turning away from the arms race, which was taking on an ever more monstrous scale, toward disarmament.

Now, for the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles to become a reality, it has to acquire legal force: It must be ratified. As far as the USSR Supreme Soviet is concerned, it will not cause any delay; it will fulfill the unanimous will of the Soviet people. So the words and the action are up to the U.S. Senate, which is now embarking on the ratification process. The hearings on the treaty will begin next week in its Foreign Relations Committee.

It is now necessary to preserve the atmosphere that made it possible to conclude the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, so that we can continue to act constructively and consistently, putting into practice the other accords reached by our two countries' leaders in Washington. There is the significant progress they made along the path to radically reducing strategic offensive arms under the conditions of compliance with the ABM Treaty. There is the consensus on resuming full-scale talks on the limitation and eventual complete cessation of nuclear tests. As a first step, the sides are to draw up effective measures for the control of [kontrol nad] nuclear explosions. There is the intention, jointly expressed by the Soviet Union and the United States, to promote development of their bilateral relations.

And all this in only 2 years! Let us recall that the first stage of nuclear disarmament, providing for reduction of Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms by one-half, elimination of medium-range missiles, and ending of nuclear tests, was set for a period of 5-8 years. If the Soviet-American talks now resuming in Geneva proceed in a realistic, constructive spirit, a real opportunity will arise to achieve the implementation of these tasks on schedule, if not before.

What does this require? Only the necessary political will by the negotiating parties—they are assured of the unanimous support of the broadest public strata. However, we should not underestimate the growing opposition of those conservative forces who, operating behind the scenes, do everything possible, and even impossible, to prevent any accord, and when such an accord is achieved, to undermine it and to complicate, for instance, the ratification of the treaty already signed on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Our party and state, clearly recognizing the full complexity and difficulty of progressing toward a nuclear-free world, will continue to proceed on the basis that the struggle for implementing the program of action put forward on 15 January 1986 and adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress is the core of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. By actively pursuing this policy the USSR shows readiness for broad collaboration with all who adopt positions of reason, good will, and a sense of responsibility for mankind's peaceful future.

TU Council Hails Statement

LD142151 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—Let collective efforts of all working people and their trade unions ensure the victory of sanity and humanism. Our common demands for a world without wars and armaments, for disarmament for the sake of development should be implemented on the threshold of the third millennium. This call was issued by the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions to trade unions and working people the world over in connection with the second anniversary of the publishing of the Statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev of January 15, 1986, which advanced for the first time a concrete programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons everywhere by the year 2000.

A world without arms, non-violent world is the ideal of the Soviet working people, of the working people the world over, the document says. The changes taking place in the international situation now kindle hopes of everyone who clearly realizes the scopes of menace to humanity.

The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions urged the working people the world over to place an insurmountable barrier to the forces of militarism and reaction.

Correction to Chervov Interview

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Chervov on NATO Arms 'Compensation' for INF," published in the 12 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 1:

column one, paragraph eight, sentence two: Stationed in Europe, the intermediate-range Pershing-2 missiles are-...(deleting extraneous 'and..')

More on Gerasimov Moscow Briefing on 14 Jan

On U.S. Pershing Photographs

LD141523 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—A TASS correspondent reporting from the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press centre:

A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today that the photographs of Pershing-2, Pershing-1A, and Pershing-1B missiles and the BGM-109G launcher, presented by the United States, had been made with a serious departure from the terms agreed upon by the Soviet and American delegations in Geneva.

The photographs were made without a measuring ruler attached to the objects and with an angle that had not been agreed on.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing that the American side had not as yet provided the Soviet Union with information about the location of facilities to eliminate American missiles and launchers.

On the American request concerning dimensions of the Soviet missile OTR-23 (SS-23), the ministry spokesman explained that the difference between the length of the missile as indicated in the memorandum and in the photograph handed over to the American side was due to the fact that the photograph showed the missile without its transfer section.

"This was done so because there is no definite rule as to where the section belongs: To the missile or to the warhead. That is why the transfer section can be regarded as an integral part either of the warhead or of the first stage of the missile."

Authenticity of the Soviet photograph has been acknowledged by Western experts. U.S. State Department Spokesman Charles Redman said in Washington on Wednesday that the United States had absolutely no grounds to doubt the authenticity of the photographs of the Soviet SS-23 missiles presented by the Soviet side.

On U.S. Testing of Pershings

LD141528 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—The Soviet Union is not conducting any tests of intermediate-range missiles, it has ended such tests and is not going to resume them, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing.

Asked about the latest test-firing of a Pershing-2 missile in the United States, he replied: "It's strange the American are thinking of upgrading intermediate-range missiles even though we have agreed to eliminate them and are only waiting for the treaty's ratification by the U.S. Senate and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR".

Gerasimov described the continued testing of Pershing-2's as "stubble on a dead man's face".

On CW Stockpiles

LD141538 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, at today's briefing, commented on a report circulated on January 12 by the American news agency UPI in which it quoted a U.S. State Department spokesman.

According to the report, the United States did not trust the Soviet information on the size of the USSR's chemical weapon stockpiles.

"The USSR regards the incident as lacking reciprocity," said the Foreign Ministry spokesman. "The Soviet Union revealed on December 26, acting in the spirit of goodwill and taking into account numerous requests, the amount of toxic agents it possesses—up to 50,000 tons."

"At present," Gerasimov said, "The U.S. claimed that it does not trust these figures, thus placing the Soviet Union in an unfavourable situation since the USSR was unable to reproach the U.S., because it has not revealed its figures.

The USSR does not know the amount of toxic agents in U.S. possession. So the Soviet Union states the absence of reciprocity."

"The Soviet Union is prepared, after concluding a convention banning and eliminating chemical weapons, to reveal all information not only on the amount, but also on the stucture of toxic agents and places of their storage," said the Soviet spokesman. "The United States knows that well."

On Pakistani Press 'Slander'

LD141638 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—The Pakistani press carried on January 11 an interview with President Mohammad Ziaul Haq who reiterated assertions about the Soviet Union's expansion towards the warm seas, annexation of part of Afghan territory (the so-called Vakhan corridor) and the Soviet Union's involvement in masterminding terrorist actions in Pakistan, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information directorate, was addressing a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists in Moscow.

The spokesman observed that at times Pakistani leaders spoke about the aspirations to maintian normal and friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

"Moscow is confused: how to combine the two," he said.

"One is also surprised by the timing of the latest anti-Soviet remarks by the Pakistani leader. The next round of indirect Afghan-Pakistani talks on setting the Afghan situation will soon be started in Geneva. The talks entered the finishing strait and can, given goodwill on both parts, lead to final agreements on the entire complex of political settlement," Gerasimov said.

"Resolutely rejecting the slander against the Soviet Union, we express the hope that statesmanship and the desire to achieve the earliest settlement in South-West Asia, as well as considerations in favour of promoting relations of goodneighbourhood in the region will prevail in Islamabad's stance."

On Israeli 'Unlawful Actions'

LD141631 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—"Israeli authorities have started deporting Palestinians involved in a popular uprising against the Israeli occupation of Arab lands.

These unlawful actions are being undertaken against the background of continuing repressions with regard to the Palestinian population on the Jordan West Bank and Gaza Strip," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said that the humiliation of the honour and dignity of a whole people had shocked world public opinion.

Israeli actions were viewed around the world as an insult to the public opinion recorded in Resolution 607, unanimously adopted by the U.N. Security Council, which demanded that Israel strictly comply with the 1949 Geneva Convention and refrain from deportation.

The Soviet Union was deeply enraged and shocked by the acts of lawlessness and the violation of elementary human rights perpetrated by the Israeli military, said the Soviet spokesman.

"The USSR demands that Israel immediately stop criminal outrages against civilians, fully comply with provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention, cease deportation of Palestinians and enable those unlawfully deported to return home."

Further Highlights of Briefing

LD142337 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] At the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press center there has been a briefing on issues in the news. We now bring you the highlights.

The chief of the Foreign Ministry's International Department, Gennadiy Gerasimov, has said that another round of talks have begun in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons. The negotiators, he said, are going to draft a treaty on a 50% cut in strategic offensive arms, in the context of compliance with the Antiballistic Missile Treaty during a mutually agreed period. Gerasimov said that the first joint draft of a future treaty was on the negotiating table. He said there was hard and complicated work ahead, but the Soviet negotiators believed there were very good chances of finalizing the treaty by the next Soviet-American summit due this year.

When asked why the length of the Soviet missile mentioned in the INF Treaty differed from that of the same missile shown on the photograph, Gerasimov said that the missile on the photo lacked the adopter module. He said there were no set rules whether the adapter module should be regarded as part of the missile proper, or of its warhead. For that reason the adapter module can be interpreted either as part of the warhead, or as an element of the missile's first stage. Gerasimov gave a reminder that Soviet experts had told the Americans that the photographs of the Pershing missiles they presented had been made with serious departures from the terms agreed by the Soviet and American negotiators in Geneva. [Moscow in English to North America at 2300 GMT on 14 January in a similar report adds at this point: "Besides, the Americans have so far failed to announce whether their missiles and launchers will be eliminated. Asked about a recent test launching of a Pershing-2 missile in the United States, Gerasimov described further testing as a bristle still growing on a dead man's face. It's strange that the Americans think of modernizing intermediate range missiles now that an agreement has been achieved to scrap these weapons, and the treaty has only to be ratified by the U.S. Senate and the USSR Supreme Soviet. The Soviet Union does not test any intermediate range missiles and is not going to resume its tests."]

About the situation in the Middle East, Gerasimov said the Soviet Union was indignant over atrocities by the Israeli military. He said the USSR had demanded that

Israel should at once stop repression against a defenseless people. Gerasimov said that Israel must also stop deporting Palestinians and allow those illegally expelled to return home.[Moscow in English to North America deletes this paragraph]

He said that a group of Soviet consular officials was in Israel settling questions related to Soviet land property in that country. These questions, Gerasimov said, have required more efforts than we initially thought. He pointed out that the Soviet consular officials' mission had nothing to do with a restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel.

Gennadiy Gerasimov told journalists the former Moscow Communist Party leader Boris Yeltsin had taken his new job as deputy chairman of the State Committee for construction, an office having ministerial rank. He added that for the time being Yeltsin was working shorter hours, following his doctors' advice.

That was an account of a briefing held in Moscow.

Gerasimov Interviewed on Geneva Arms Talks

LD142048 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Interview granted by Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov to correspondent Stefanowicz—identified by caption—carried in the "Television Bulletin" program; date and place not specified; questions and answers in Russian, fading into Polish translation—live or recorded; no video available]

[Text] [Stefanowicz] Gennadiy Ivanovich, in connection with the resumption of the Geneva negotiations, how do you personally assess the possibility of a 50% reduction in the basic weapons of the balance of fear in the world?

[Gerasimov] Skeptics claims this is very difficult, technically. I think political will and desire are most important. If there is a will, there is a way. There is such an English proverb: What is the will, that is the way. [quoted in English] We have a political will, and so do the Americans. They also want it. Reagan wants to come and sign the agreement. In this sense, I am optimistically inclined.

[Stefanowicz] Have the main obstacles changed, or not?

[Gerasimov] In many issues we have already reached an agreement. We agreed on many technical details in Washington. One of the main obstacles, for example, is technical monitoring. If one wants, the entire matter can be drowned in details; that is the crux of the matter. However, as I have already said, if there is a political will to reach an agreement it will be reached, and this would really be a step forward.

[Stefanowicz] To complete the picture I would like to add—the negotiators in Geneva spoke about this clearly—that the negotiations that commenced today will be considerably more difficult than the negotiations which led to the reaching of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, for the issue concerns half the nuclear arsenals of the two superpowers, and not 5%, as in the treaty signed in Washington in December. Moreover, it was easier to reach an agreement on issues of monitoring in the case of missiles deployed only on land. Missiles installed on submarines and bombers having a range of more than 5,000 km are also strategic weapons. Also, the Soviet side makes the signing of the treaty on the 50% reduction dependent on the compliance by both sides with the 1972 ABM Treaty, that is, on the limiting of the U.S. Star Wars program, at least in the agreed period. In these circumstances, it is not known whether it will be possible to prepare the reduction program before Ronald Reagan's visit to Moscow, announced for the middle of the year. But, first, such a condition was not placed on this visit. Second, the experiences from the negotiations so far and the Washington December summit have improved the climate, and, thus, have increased the chances of the negotiations commenced today.

Further on 12 Jan Foreign Ministry Briefing

PM141427 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev's interview to the Chinese weekly LIAOWANG is the first case in recent decades of the publication of a Soviet leader's answers to a Chinese journal. I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, noted this when he spoke 12 January at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center.

"In itself the request by LIAOWANG for an interview with the CPSU Central Committee general secretary is an extraordinary and significant event," the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "We interpret it as one more good sign, as proof of the significant progress which is gradually taking place in Soviet-Chinese relations."

The deputy minister noted that great interest in the inteview has been shown in Chinese public circles. He drew attention to M.S. Gorbachev's words that the USSR is counting on cooperation with the PRC on whose policy a great deal in world affairs depends.

The speaker recalled that in his conversation with Zambian President K. Kaunda, M.S. Gorbachev, in connection with a corresponding statement by Deng Xiaoping, said that a Soviet-Chinese summit could be held in any place convenient for the two parties. The replies to the Chinese weekly also touch on the question of the prospects for such a meeting, and it is noted that the necessity for it is felt on both sides. M.S. Gorbachev's interview is

one more proof of the USSR's openness in the matter of extensive dialogue with China—at most diverse levels and across the entire range of complex questions of bilateral and international relations.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman reported to journalists that Deng Xiaoping's "Basic Questions of Modern China" will be published in Russian in a few days. It is planned to publish M.S. Gorbachev's book on restructuring and the new thinking in the PRC in Chinese.

Answering correspondents' questions, I.A. Rogachev stressed that the USSR has conducted and is conducting an active policy directed at settling regional conflict situations. This also concerns the situation around Afghanistan and in other trouble spots. In particular, in the USSR deputy foreign minister's opinion, the Cambodian problem can be resolved with goodwill and readiness to make mutually acceptable concessions. The dialogue that has begun among the various Cambodian sides—first and foremost the meetings between Hun Sen, chairman of the Kampuchean Council of Ministers, and Prince N. Sihanouk—can be considered moves in the process of settling the situation around Cambodia. Cambodian problems, it was stressed at the briefing, must be resolved by the Cambodians thmselves. The dialogue has begun, and it is very important not to put obstacles in its way but to provide assistance.

We will also resolve, in I.A. Rogachev's opinion, the question of reducing military confrontation in the Far East. A proposal to begin this process in the region of the border between the USSR and China was expressed by M.S. Gorbachev in July 1986 in Vladivostok.

G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, noted that the basic task of the round of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons which begins soon in Geneva is to prepare a draft document on a 50% reduction of strategic offensive arms subject to observance of the ABM Treaty and nonwithdrawal from it for an agreed period.

He also reported that talks within the framework of the disarmament conference have resumed with the aim of agreeing on the text of an international convention to ban and destroy chemical weapons. The Soviet Union, it was noted at the briefing, proceeds from the premise that with political will, the convention can be concluded most speedily. The fact that this approach is also shared by other delegations is satisfying. Thus on Monday Swedish representative R. Ekeus, who heads the special committee on chemical weapons in Geneva, said that all the main military and political obstacles in the way of a convention have been removed, and only certain complex technical questions remain to be resolved, which is quite possible this year. His words that a convention should encompass binary weapons in its prohibitions are worthy of note.

Answering a question on E.A. Shevardnadze's coming visit to the FRG, G.I. Gerasimov noted that the Soviet side attaches great significance to it. The USSR hopes the visit will make it possible to map out a path toward stepping up dialogue between the two countries. The atmosphere in which it will take place is now extremely favorable inasmuch as the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate-and Shorter-Range Missiles has been concluded, and the USSR values the role the FRG has played in creating the conditions for its conclusion.

Petrovskiy Comments on 42d UN Session

LD130731 Moscow TASS in English 0718 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 13 (TASS)—The 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly has been strongly influenced by the Soviet-U.S. summit and the signature of the INF (intermediate-range nuclear force) Treaty, according to Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy.

Speaking in an interview with the newspaper PRAVDA, which was published today, he said delegates to the session had sought, for their part, to foster a felicitious international climate for the success of Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

Petrovskiy described the 42nd session as a "milestone event in U.N. history".

Asked about prospects for disarmament talks under the U.N. aegis, he said the session had strongly recommended finalizing a convention to destroy chemical weapons and achieving substantial results at negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

To the question about what was preventing the United Nations from playing a more effective role and whether its headquarters ought to be moved to another country, the Soviet deputy foreign minister replied:

"One has to proceed from the fact that it (the U.N.) is not a supranational agency, a superstate or a supergovernment. It is an international organization whose effectiveness turns on how concerted the action of the nations represented there is and how strictly they observe the U.N. Charter.

"Of course, the United States has made for many difficulties for the United Nations. But will the common cause be helped by simply moving the U.N. headquarters to another country?

"From the standpoint of making the United Nations more effective and ensuring its normal functioning, it is much more important for the member nations, in the first place the permanent members of the Security Council, to act responsibly and for the countries hosting the U.N. and its agencies to set an example of good-natured hospitality by their attitude to them."

Commenting on efforts to prevent outer space militarization, Petrovskiy said that along with bilateral efforts, an international organization should be set up for successfully promoting peaceful cooperation in space.

The organization, he said, "could either exist in the U.N. frameworks or have an autonomous status like the International Atomic Energy Agency. With two such powerful 'wings' the United Nations could act as the guarantor of a nuclear-free and non-violent world".

The experience of perestroyka, or restructuring, in home and international affairs, Petrovskiy noted, demonstrated that one should not underestimate the counteraction of braking mechanisms.

"But, as the 42nd General Assembly session showed, the potential for revitalizing U.N. activities is strong enough. And this inspires optimism," he added.

Belonogov Holds UN Press Conference

LD142345 Moscow TASS in English 2327 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev:

The USSR Permanent Mission to the U.N. held on Thursday a press conference in connection with the tremendous international response caused by the second anniversary of the Soviet initiative on stage-by-stage and steady freeing of the world from nuclear weapons until the end of the current century.

This action of a fundamental character and significance was motivated by the need to overcome the negative, confrontation trends in the world, clear the way to a cut-back in the nuclear weapons race and eliminating other types of mass destruction weapons, building up confidence as an inseparable component part of relations between states, said Aleksandr Belonogov, the USSR permanent representative to the U.N. World public has highly evaluated the USSR's call and supported it. The difficulties involved in the implementation of such a grandiose program are great. But it is based not on futile dreams and illusions, but on present-day realities. The accords reached at the third Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington are proof of the realism of this idea. A nuclear-free world can and must be built. The Soviet Union not only proclaims this, but translates into the practices of specific deeds and initiatives. Genuine equal security and trust are guaranteed not by maximum high, but maximum low level of the strategic balance. In that sense the signing by the USSR and USA of the INF Treaty has been an important landmark in the world development.

The 42nd U.N. General Assembly session reflected the start of the process of renewing international life, the Soviet representative noted. The adoption by it on the initiative of the group of the socialist countries of the decision on creating a comprehensive peace and security system opens up new possibilities for progress in that direction on the basis of finding a balance of interests of the U.N. member states, establishing between them relations of trust and cooperation.

Another major decision of the session has been the adoption of the declaration on enhancing the principles on renunciation of the threat of force or its use in international relations. Its provisions pave the way towards a non-violent world, outline the political-legal fundamentals of a comprehensive international security system, contribute towards strengthening the prestige and role of the U.N. in international affairs. The United Nations organization is called upon to say its weighty word in the resolution of many burning problems of the present, including in the course of such an important forum due to be held in June as the third special session on disarmament of the U.N. General Assembly. Today one shall not build his long-term policy at somebody's expense, a search for a balance of interests is necessary, A. Belonogov pointed out. This is, in particular, the answer to the question why the USSR attaches so much significance to the U.N., to strengthening its prestige and effectiveness.

Comments on Gaza Situation

LD142100 Kuwait KUNA in English 2007 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] United Nations, Jan 14 (KUNA)—The Soviet Union Thursday expressed "dissatisfaction" with the existing situation in the West Bank and Gaza and called for a stronger U.N. role in the occupied Arab territories.

"The U.N. role in respect of the occupied territories should be enhanced and strengthened," the Soviet envoy Aleksandr Belonogov told a news conference.

"There may be different ways to achieve this goal. One is the introduction of U.N. observers there," he said in answer to a question about the PLO proposal.

This item, he said, may come up during the discussions in the forthcoming weeks when the Security Council is to receive the secretary-general's report on the situation in the occupied territories.

The report, scheduled to be issued around the 20th of this month, is being prepared by Marrack Goulding, under secretary-general for political affairs, currently visiting the occupied territories.

He expressed regret that the Israeli authorities disregarded the Council appeal last week not to resort to deportation.

On the calls for Arabs and Israelis to sit down and talk, Belonogov said "we would like to see an end to the conflict but the way to end it is by convening the international peace conference on the Middle East.

However, he added, the Soviet Union does not exclude the possibility of bilateral talks within the framework of the conference.

"We do not exclude at all that within the framework of such a conference may be found different methods of consultations and negotiations. They may be conducted on multilateral or bilateral basis," he said.

On the Gulf War Belonogov said the Soviet position on the second resolution in the Council (calling for an arms embargo against Iran for refusing to end the war) "provides that the Council may proceed in its work of drafting it."

"The five permanent members started such kind of work and we think that there may be time when such a resolution will become absolutely necessary," he said.

Burlatskiy on Netherlands Human Rights Talks

LD142011 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—East-West businesslike cooperation in the field of human rights is possible and indispensable, a briefing at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry was told today by Professor Fedor Burlatskiy. As the chairman of the Soviet Public Commission for International Cooperation on Humanitarian Issues and Human Rights he attended the international conference on the subject of human rights and international cooperation which was held in the Netherlands.

The human rights problem, Fedor Burlatskiy noted, was used more often than not as the subject of mutual accusations. "We were telling the West more about the social, economic problems, poverty, the homeless and jobless people. The West was telling us about violation of civil rights and political freedoms in our country. After a heated discussion at the conference we succeeded in reaching a common stand on the principles of interpretation of human rights in the present day world and as regards the new approach in cooperation in that extremely complicated area.

One of the most important results of the conference, the Soviet professor stressed, was the setting up of an organizing committee for promoting such cooperation on a stable basis.

The point at issue is the laying of a bridge of mutual understanding between East and West in the field of human rights basing ourselves on the experience already accumulated.

Fedor Burlatskiy said that agreement had already been reached on the holding of the next conference in the Soviet Union or the USA already this year.

Group Has 'Great Plans'

LD142026 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] [Announcer] A briefing on current international political problems was given at the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry in Moscow today by Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry Information directorate. Burlatskiy, chairman of the Commission for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights at the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation spoke at the briefing. He informed those assembled about the recently ended international conference on the subject of human rights and international cooperation in the Netherlands. Dealing with the results of the conference, he said, in particular:

[Begin Burlatskiy recording] Representatives of various social systems and of various views on many issues in contemporary development as regards human rights problems assembled at the conference. After a fairly lively discussion, we managed to work out common positions concerning a new approach to cooperation on human rights. Considerable discussion was prompted at the start of the conference by the question of what is contained in the concept of human rights. We eventually returned to the views laid down in the 1948 Human Rights Declaration and the 1975 Helsinki Agreement, namely, that one must not make borders, one must not erect barriers between social and economic and civil and political rights. We decided to begin businesslike cooperation, and perhaps this is the noteworthy feature of that conference. One result of the conference was the creation of an organizational committee: The idea is to build a bridge for cooperation in the sphere of human rights between East and West.

To conclude my statement, I would like to tell you that our commission is now beginning to develop its work within our country. The object of our particular attention is the question of improving legislation, above all the institutionalization of that which has become an achievement of the period of restructuring, the consolidation in legal forms of glasnost, by means, let us say, of the adoption of the law on the press. We also plan to discuss the problems of extending the legal protection of human rights, and the implementation of a legal reform which would place this problem on a firm legal foundation. We have great plans, and we hope that not only our commission, but also broad circles of our public will take part in the implementation of these plans. [end recording]

Deputy Foreign Minister on Human Rights

LD131953 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—The Soviet Union advocates not just in words, but in action a serious restructuring of international cooperation in the humanitarian field, said Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy

foreign minister. Speaking in an interview with the NEW TIMES weekly, he stressed the Soviet Union's determination to transfer the handling of things in that field, which is assuming increasing significance, from the plane of confrontation onto the plane of constructive cooperation.

The humanitarian field is now gaining in Soviet policy a place befitting it, which, perhaps, it did not have in the past. It is not fortuitous that in the fundamental idea jointly put forward by the socialist countries—the idea of creating a comprehensive international security system—humanitarian cooperation is treated as being equally important as cooperation in the military, political, economic and ecological fields. It is also a sign of the times that the proposal put forward at the all-European meeting in Vienna that a conference be convened on humanitarian issues came from the Soviet Union, Adamishin noted.

The USSR is for a businesslike discussion in Moscow of the whole range of humanitarian issues to be translated into such practical deeds that would lead to a real improvement of the situation in the field of human rights in all the participating countries, the USSR deputy foreign minister stressed.

In the field of human rights, the Western mass media stubbornly focus the discussions on civil rights, among them an even narrower subject of emigration from the country has been chosen, Anatoliy Adamishin said. The rest of the issues pertaining to ensuring human rights and the living conditions are deliberately left unattended.

If we take the whole totality of social protecition, already now a whole number of problems that are vital to the whole population, the working people have been better resolved by socialism than capitalism. Our society appropriates vast funds on that. We are against the bourgeois concept of human rights being treated as an axiom, the Soviet deputy foreign minister said.

Pope Calls INF Treaty 'Culmination' of Effort

PM131009 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Encouraging Prospects"]

[Text] Rome, 9 Jan—Addressing the traditional New Year's meeting with members of the diplomatic corps accredited to the Vatican today, Pope John Paul II, head of the Roman Catholic Church, paid much attention to the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. The conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in Washington, he stressed, means "the culmination of persistent efforts and, at the same time, offers encouraging prospects for strengthening the process of disarmament and for the future of the cause of peace."

John Paul II expressed hope that the two great powers will display goodwill so that following the Washington agreement, new stages are reached along the path of achieving complete disarmament. The pope expressed gratification with the fact that, as a result of political desire on the part of the USSR and the United States, there has developed "a new situation providing a framework for accords on the destruction of an entire class of arms." The arms buildup, he went on, is a threat to the cause of peace and an affront to peoples suffering from starvation.

WEU Revival Linked to European Defense Plans

PM071513 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Jan 88 p 3

[Own correspondent V. Boykov dispatch: "Where the 'Old Automobile' Is Heading"]

[Excerpts] The Hague-Brussels, Jan—"After standing neglected in the garage for a long time, the old automobile is on the move again." WEU Secretary General A. Cahen used this graphic simile to state that the organization which he heads is functioning. Why have "the Seven" making up the WEU—France, Britain, the FRG, Italy, and the Benelux countries—started its motor? For what purpose is this "automobile" being modernized, and in which direction is it moving? [passage omitted]

The WEU is being revived chiefly on a military basis. It is, in point of fact, a question of patching together a "European defense community." This idea is not new. A treaty was even signed 35 years ago to set up such a community, but the French National Assembly refused to ratify it. The project had to be postponed until better times.

It was recently decided in Paris, Bonn, and a number of other capitals that such times have arrived. The WEU was chosen as the foundation of "Eurodefense." In December 1986 French Prime Minister J. Chirac proposed drawing up a "West European security charter" formulating the principles of "Eurodefense." That document was approved at a meeting of the WEU member countries' foreign and defense ministers held in The Hague in October. True, at the last moment the word "charter" was replaced by the more modest term "platform" in order, it is thought, "not to annoy the Americans" and not to create the impression that the WEU has been revived as a "rival to NATO."

The Response Was Unambiguous [subhead]

A "deterrence strategy" based on a mix of nuclear and conventional forces has been declared the cornerstone of "Eurodefense." At the same time, "the Seven" have declared their determination to "strengthen the European pillar of the North Atlantic Alliance." The presence of U.S. conventional and nuclear forces in West Europe is declared an "essential element" of European defense. The position of "the Seven" with regard to nuclear arms appears more conservative even than the U.S. position.

The Reagan administration advocates, at least verbally, the idea of a nuclear-free world. The WEU rejects it outright. At the same time, "the Seven" are trying to "sell" their views on this problem to other West European countries.

Prior to the adoption of the "security platform," the WEU refused to open its doors to new members, fearing that candidates such as Greece or Spain, for example, where antinuclear sentiments are strong, might create a mass of difficulties when drawing up the platform. Now, having "staked out" reliance on nuclear weapons among their basic principles, "the Seven" say: If you want to join the WEU, subscribe to its program.

The first response to this ultimatum was unambiguous. A Spanish Government spokesman declared that his country would not join the WEU on such terms. Portugal adopted a decision "not to hurry" to join "the Seven." Nor was the "security platform" received enthusiastically in other countries in the Old World. Antiwar forces called it a "platform of danger."

Words and Deeds [subhead]

Champions of "Eurodefense" are gradually proceeding from words to deeds. France and the FRG have stated their intention to form a joint military brigade and set up a defense council of the two countries. Paris and London are holding talks on the possibility of dovetailing their nuclear programs. In the middle of December, that is, just a week after the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was signed, the British and French defense ministers declared their countries' intention to combine efforts in creating an air-launched cruise missile. Many Western journalists evaluated that statement, not without reason, as a desire to "compensate" to a certain extent for the upcoming destruction of U.S. Euromissiles. Plans for multilateral military cooperation are also being discussed.

The leaders of "the Seven" cite the "Soviet threat" and the "overwhelming" superiority of the USSR and its allies in conventional arms as the reason for their commitment to nuclear weapons and the idea of strengthening "NATO's European pillar." "We cannot close our eyes," FRG Chancellor H. Kohl declared recently, "to the fact that the might of the Warsaw Pact's conventional arms surpasses the forces of our alliance in Europe in the ratio of three to one."

I believe that U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz is just as well-informed about the correlation of forces as the FRG chancellor. It is not out of place to recall what he said soon after the Reykjavik meeting. "When people say," he declared, "that in a nuclear-free world we will be surpassed in general-purpose forces, I simply do not believe it."

A similar conclusion—on the existence of approximate parity of forces—has been reached by the London Institute of Strategic Studies, a Belgian group for research and information on problems of peace, and many other experts in the Old World. These also include members of the Committee on Defense Questions and Armaments of the Western European Assembly (the WEU's parliament).

Without bothering to analyze conclusions of this sort, the leaders of the West European "Seven" continue to stand their ground. "The Warsaw Pact's superior conventional forces and their ability to carry out a surprise attack and conduct large-scale offensive operations," the WEU platform states, "arouse special concern." But if this is so, why then has the West been delaying for 18 months over replying to the Warsaw Pact "Budapest Appeal," which formulated a specific plan for a sharp reduction in conventional potentials? Within NATO, where "the Seven" play a far from minor role, the debate on this subject has not yet gone beyond procedural aspects. The USSR and its allies have also proposed discussing questions of eliminating offensive components both from the sides' military doctrines and from their armed forces. But there has as yet been no response to these initiatives either.

The platform adopted in The Hague contains several proposals that speak of the need to improve relations with the East and of the desirability of activating peace talks and reducing arms. But, in order not to be empty sounds, words must be backed up by deeds. So far one thing is clear: The WEU has started up in a military direction.

Agreement Signed on Protecting Ozone Layer

PM081405 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Montreal Protocol Signed"]

[Text] The Soviet Union has signed the Montreal protocol on substances destroying the ozone layer, which is attached to the Vienna convention on the protection of the ozone layer.

This step confirms the USSR's readiness to make its contribution to solving the task of protecting the ozone layer. The task is becoming increasingly acute and topical, since a threat to the ozone layer, which protects the earth from the sun's ultraviolet radiation, is being created by the emission of ozone-destroying substances into the atmosphere. The destruction of the ozone layer could have extremely adverse consequences for the state of the environment and people's health and lead to global changes in the climate.

The Soviet Union took an active part in preparing the Vienna convention on the protection of the ozone layer and was one of its first signatories. The Montreal protocol, which envisages freezing and then halving the production of ozone-destroying substances by 1999, was also drafted with its active participation.

United States & Canada

U.S. Tests Pershing Missiles at Cape Canaveral

LD141712 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 14 TASS—The United States Wednesday test-fired a Pershing-2 carrying a training warhead from the space port of Cape Canaveral.

Two more such missiles, which were to be launched at the same time, did not lift off due to a failure of the storage batteries that were to power them inflight.

An attempt to blast off the fourth standby missile failed as well.

The Pershings had been brought to Cape Canaveral for the tests from West Germany and a base at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

According to Dave Harris, a spokesman for the missile forces command of the U.S. Army, the experiment aimed to try out new software designed to simplfy the pre-launch countdown procedure. It is not ruled out that the battery failures were corrected with the software change.

Pershings are among the nuclear weapons to be destroyed under a treaty signed during the recent Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington on eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

Asked by a TASS correspondent to explain why the U.S. had needed to test arms due to be scrapped, Pentagon spokesman Randal Morger read out a statement saying the INF Treaty provided for a phased elimination of Pershings over a three-year period for its entry into force and so Pershings would continue to be in service for at least the next few years.

He added that the U.S. Army planned to keep the missiles remaining on duty in a condition meeting present-day requirements.

In practice this means, according to Harris, that the U.S. Army intended to continue modernizing Pershings even after the INF Treaty is ratified and takes effect.

In his words, further test launches will be tried in a not so distant future.

Reagan Wants ABM Observance Accord

LD142344 Moscow TASS in English 2300 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 15 TASS—On Thursday the White House issued the text of President Reagan's written statement in connection with the opening in Geneva of the next round of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons. It stresses that the U.S. objectives in these talks "remain unchanged" and are the "achievement of equitable and effectively verifiable arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union."

Last month, the U.S. President said, the treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces was signed at the Soviet-American summit in Washington. "This treaty is truly historic—for the first time, an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles will be eliminated." "The INF Treaty is in the security interests of the U.S. and our allies," Ronald Reagan pointed out and voiced hope that the U.S. Senate "will move expeditiously" and give its consent to the ratification of this important argeement.

"Our focus now," the statement goes on to say, "will be on achieving 50 per cent reductions in U.S. and Soviet strategic offensive nuclear arsenals." The President said that he had instructed the American delegation at the talks "to expedite work on a joint draft treaty which meets these objectives" of the USA. "This draft start treaty reflects progress already achieved in Geneva and the areas of agreement" achieved at the Soviet-American summit meetings in 1985 and 1986. During the December summit meeting in Washington further progress was made.

Yet, the statement says that "despite the progress we have made, important differences remain" in the positions of the sides, "including such issues as mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles....and the details of effective verification."

President Reagan said that he had instructed the U.S. negotiators at the Geneva talks to work out with the Soviet side "a separate new treaty calling for observing for a specified period of time the ABM Treaty."

At the same time, President Reagan stressed his "firm commitment to move forward with our strategic defense initiative." As is known the intention of the USA to carry on work on that program for the creation of space strike weapons remains a serious obstacle in the way towards an agreement on the nuclear strategic arsenals. The newspaper WASHINGTON TIMES quotes administration officials as stressing that President Reagan's instructions provide for making "no concessions" on the Star Wars program.

'Discriminate Deterrence' Plan Given to Reagan

PM141219 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Jan 88 Single Edition p 5

[TASS report: "From Deep Within the Pentagon"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Jan—U.S. President Ronald Reagan has today been presented with a report produced by the special commission for preparing recommendations on long-term U.S. strategy. The document, entitled "Discriminate Deterrence," has been drawn up by a group of domestic and foreign policy experts. They point to the need to redirect the military strategy of the United States

and its NATO allies in the light of changes in the balance of forces in the world arena in the decades ahead. The report demonstrates that the nuclear arms reduction prospects which have appeared force the Pentagon to seek new ways to use military strength to attain political goals.

THE WASHINGTON POST notes that the main content of the document is a "call to prepare military operations using high-accuracy non-nuclear armaments."

Further Report

PM141625 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report followed by A. Golts "Observer's Opinion" under the general heading: "'Strategists' Not Abating"]

[Text] Washington, 13 Jan—A U.S. special commission to formulate recommendations on long-term strategy has submitted a report to U.S. President Ronald Reagan. The document, entitled "Discriminate Deterrence," was prepared by a group of experts on questions of foreign and military policy. They point to the need to reorient the military strategy of the United States and its NATO allies with regard to the changes in the balance of forces in the world arena in the coming decades. The chief substance of the document, THE WASHINGTON POST points out, is its "call to prepare for military operations using highly accurate nonnuclear arms, particularly cruise missiles, whose creation has been made possible as a result of the development of computer technology and microelectronics."

Observer's Opinion [subhead]

Washington strategists still think in a startling manner. It cannot be said that they totally disregard the realities of the international situation. But people on the other side of the ocean analyze these realities from a special angle: how to ensure U.S. military superiority under all circumstances. And the new document provides further evidence of this.

To all appearances, two prospects most frighten the report's authors, who include the not-unknown Kissinger and Brzezinski. On the one hand, the possibility of a sharp reduction in nuclear arms. And, on the other, the developing states' growing desire for independence and their reluctance to obey Washington's diktat.

As a "panacea" the report's authors propose placing the emphasis on highly accurate nonnuclear arms created on the basis of recent achievements in computer technology and electronics. I will remind you that we are talking of weapons that are commensurate with tactical nuclear weapons in terms of power and with whose help the Pentagon and NATO propose to make strikes "deep into the territory of a potential enemy" in case of war.

It follows from the report that Washington does not intend to implement all these dangerous schemes on its own. And it is not only that it is proposed to use in regional conflicts "cooperation forces," including troops of "Third-World states friendly to the United States." The administration is already trying to involve its allies in realizing the so-called "balanced technology initiative." It is a question of an attempt to shift onto others' shoulders a considerable part of the cost of developing and producing superaccurate conventional arms. And it is no coincidence, therefore, that copies of the document drawn up by the commission have already been circulated to both West European and Asian allies of the United States.

U.S. Aid to Pakistan Despite Nuclear Program

LD141235 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] According to reports in the U.S. press, U.S. President Ronald Reagan assured the Senate that Pakistan had no nuclear weapons at its disposal. That statement was a proviso for the resumption of U.S. military and economic aid to Pakistan, which for the next 6 years is worth $4.02 billion. The aid program was suspended by the U.S. Senate due to the growing suspicion regarding the military nature of the Pakistani military preparations. Here is a Moscow radio commentary. At the microphone is Aleksandr Malikov:

[Malikov] The ancient Romans had a notion of "bare" or "dead" law—a law which is not adhered to. In the case with the U.S. military and economic aid to Pakistan we are apparently dealing with precisely that kind of law.

The analogy is quite appropriate, for the United States has for many years been sidestepping the law prohibiting the provision of military and ecoonomic credits to countries working on creation of nuclear weapons.

The number of facts pointing out that that is precisely what Islamabad's nuclear program is aimed at, and not at the peaceful uses of atom at all, has been growing. The Indian daily STATESMAN reports among other things: As admitted by U.S. officials, Pakistan has been secretly working on the construction of a second uranium enrichment plant which is going to be used for the production of nuclear weapons.

There is nothing sensational in that fact, though, because late last year U.S. scientist David Albright published a report where he, on the basis of numerous witnesses' accounts, arrived at the conclusion that Pakistan was capable of creating 2 - 3 units of nuclear weapons per annum. The State Department, the Pentagon, and the U.S. Congress have all been acquainted with that report.

And what was to follow? One can state that since as far back as 1976, when the United States learned about Pakistani intent to develop a bomb, Washington has not, in actual fact, gone any further than threats to stop the

military deliveries to Islamabad. Although even in the United States itself no one would undertake to dispute the argument that, in the hands of the U.S. Administration, the military and economic aid to Islamabad could have become a real lever keeping the latter's nuclear ambitions at bay—could have become but has not.

Such striking passivity of Washington gives rise to the question: Would it also not run contrary to their own designs? In any case, the U.S. daily WASHINGTON POST found quite a distinct selfish interest here: the newspaper has directly pointed out the fact that the Reagan administration does not want to use the program of military and economic aid to Pakistan as a lever to compel it to abide by its obligations on the plane of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons—it does not want it, above all, out of considerations involving Pakistan in the aggressive U.S. strategy in the region.

Senator Biden Arrives in Moscow, Comments

LD142003 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—Senator Joseph R. Biden, chairman of the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, arrived in Moscow today on a visit at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR.

Asked by a TASS correspondent about the hopes and expectations with which he had come to Moscow soon after the historic INF Treaty had been signed and the Soviet-U.S. relationship had begun to improve, the senator, for whom it is his third time in this country, said:

"Much has changed, since 1979 when I was first here. My hope is that we will be able to move on now to get a significant agreement on strategic arms control and if we get in close to what General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan were talking about—50 percent reductions—that would mean that the regime of verification would have to be so broad that in order to agree on that we would have to make some real progress which would be great for both our countries.

"And then I would hope that we are within move to discussions on conventional forces in Europe [sentence as received] I think that we have an interest in that we continue to reduce tension rather than increase tension.

"And that would be my hopes and aspirations and it seems consistent with what the general secretary has been saying and what our President has been saying.

"I've just visited some of the capitals in Europe and I've met with Chancellor Kohl, President Mitterrand and Prime Minister Thatcher. It seems to be a concensus of all political parties in Europe that there is an optimism, but a cautious optimism.

"Hopefully, the next time I return we would have two more historic agreements, one on conventional forces and one on strategic forces."

Shultz Visits Canada, Talks With Clark

PM141629 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Shelkov: "Shultz Visit"]

[Text] Ottawa, 12 Jan—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has carried out a short visit to Canada. He held lightning talks with Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Joseph Clark. The heads of the two countries' foreign departments signed three documents: an agreement on cooperation in the Arctic, a treaty on the extradition of criminals, and a document legalizing the contacts already established between Washington and Ottawa on combating terrorism.

It is the first agreement that has attracted the main attention of the Canadian mass media and opposition. The Canadian side declares its sovereignty not only over the Arctic sector but the adjoining waters too, while the Americans refuse to recognize this position. As a result the agreement concluded represents a certain compromise. Representatives of opposition parties immediately criticized the document, stating that the conservatives had gone back on their words and promises.

The talks also touched on questions of "free trade" and "acid rain." The Canadian side stated its concern at the fate of the agreement with the United States on liberalizing trade in the light of increasing protectionist sentiment in the U.S. Congress. Ottawa is also concerned at the very slow pace at which Washington is moving toward restricting environmental pollution by industrial waste products

Further on Scientific Agreement With U.S.

LD140024 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] A 5-year agreement on scientific cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the U.S. national Academy of Sciences has been signed in Moscow.

[Correspondent A. Sturua] This document, apart from carrying out joint scientific work, also provides for an increase in the exchange of scientific information and mutual participation in symposiums and forums. For the first time in many years, it is planned to send young scientists to science centers in the Soviet Union and the United States for periods from 1 month to a year.

Guriy Ivanovich Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, signing the agreement, called it a very substantial step forward in bilateral scientific relations.

This has become, he noted, the natural development of initiatives between our academies which were approved during the summit meeting in Washington.

Frank Press, president of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, replying to a question as to what he expected from this agreement, said:

[Press in English fading into superimposed Russian translation] The Soviet Union and the United States are the two leading powers in the field of space research. As a result of joint work, there is a growth in the productivity and return of scientists looking into solutions not only to very specialized questions but also to global problems that are of universal importance, problems such as changes in the earth's climate as a result of man's activity, environmental pollution, and so on. We will also be working in some of the more advanced fields of biology and physics. In particular, we will be devoting a lot of attention and effort to the study of questions of the safety of nuclear reactors. This question interests and concerns people everywhere, both in your country and ours. This will be an important area of our cooperation.

[Sturua] How do you foresee the future of the development of nuclear power engineering in the United States?

[Press] As you know, Americans are guarded on this issue. Probably, in the next few years just a few new nuclear power stations will be built in our country. The situation will alter radically when we scientists achieve greater reactor safety. It is probable that a new type of reactor will be created, or something else may come up. But the problem of environmental pollution even today urgently demands a reduction in coal and oil consumption. That is why the question of seeking alternative energy sources is acutely cropping up. It is more probable that nuclear energy is the more promising source.

[Sturua] How useful will cooperation with Soviet scientists in this field be for you?

[Press] Joint work and research is useful for both countries, although I can foresee certain difficulties, the main one of which is the fact that private capital has been put into research in our country, whereas in your country it is state capital. But I believe that, insofar as we are faced with problems of global importance, we will find a way and opportunities for such cooperation.

China

Rogachev on Bilateral Work Project, Summit

OW141335 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In answering a question on the situation regarding Soviet-Chinese border talks at the news briefing held at the USSR Foreign Ministry's news center, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev pointed out: Two rounds of talks were held in Moscow and Beijing last year. Both sides agreed to set up a work team which will begin to carry out its work in Moscow beginning on 20 January. It is planned to dig a 400-km-long trench in the eastern sector of the border. The task of the work team is to dig a trench on an experimental basis in a small section. Rogachev advocated the establishment of this work team. He said: We have talked about this issue for 10 years without any success. Right now, the work team has been set up. Naturally, there remain some problems in this regard. The heads of the two delegations will try to solve these problems through negotiations.

Another reporter asked if the questions with regard to the modernization of existing enterprises built in China by the Soviet Union in 1959, and the supply of parts for such enterprises, have been settled or not. Rogachev replied that these questions have been discussed many times. Agreement has been reached on various projects related to the modernization of existing enterprises and for the building of new enterprises. These questions will be discussed at the meeting of the Commission for Economic, Trade, and Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese Governments to be held in Beijing in May this year.

At the news briefing, someone asked the Soviet deputy foreign minister if views are being exchanged on a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. Comrade Rogachev pointed out: On 16 November and 4 December 1987, Deng Xiaoping expressed his willingness to meet with Soviet leader Gorbachev under certain conditions. When General Secretary Gorbachev of the CPSU Central Committee met with the Zambian president on 27 November last year, he also commented on this subject. These were exchanges of views. This is something known to everyone in the world. There has been no other exchange of views. Comrade Rogachev also pointed out: The Soviet side has not imposed any conditions. Nor has it set up any barriers. The Soviet Union is willing to discuss the most complex issues at the meeting.

Alekseyev Views INF Treaty as 'First Step'

OW141251 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] Listeners, in his interview with China's LIAOWANG magazine, Soviet leader Gorbachev pointed out the historical significance of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington in December 1987. He emphatically pointed out that thanks to this summit, the world can enjoy greater security. An agreement on destroying 2% of all nuclear guided missiles was reached for the first time, thus marking the beginning of real disarmament. Our Station Observer Alekseyev writes as follows:

Sometimes we hear the question asked: Has the Soviet Union overestimated the treaty on destroying medium- and shorter-range missiles? Can the world's political situation change markedly by destroying only 3 to 4% of the Soviet

and U.S. nuclear weapons? This question is asked because the Soviet Union and the United States will still have large stocks of nuclear weapons with tremendous destructive power. Under these circumstances, is it all right to say that the menace of a nuclear catastrophe has been reduced? Yes, it has. This is because, at the current stage, what is important is not how many or what kind of nuclear missiles will be destroyed. What is important is that the first step in history has been made on the road of destroying nuclear weapons. A thousand-li journey begins by taking the first step.

Two years ago, the Soviet Union appealed for the total destruction of all nuclear weapons on earth by the end of this century. Currently, we are actually fulfilling this task. Undoubtedly, this is a matter of prime importance and of great historical significance. The London TIMES recently said: In January 1986, when Soviet leader Gorbachev proposed a program for destroying all nuclear weapons with the arrival of the 21st century, many people in the West openly took a skeptical attitude. Now that the first treaty concerning guided missiles was signed in Washington, the goal set by Moscow can clearly be completely fulfilled.

Of course, [words indistinct] is groundless. The task of eliminating nuclear weapons is a difficult and possibly arduous one. What is important is that this process has begun. Not only has the first step been made, but the future prospects are plain and clear. First, an agreement on the two big powers' strategic nuclear weapons has been [word indistinct]. Currently, Soviet and U.S. delegations are devoting themselves to discussing the draft agreement in Geneva.

The Soviets believe that the current fine situation has created possibilities that may lead to a chain reaction, that of striving on all fronts to limit or eliminate all kinds of weapons, including space, chemical, and conventional weapons. All our thoughts and considerations are pointed in this direction.

In his remarks to LIAOWANG, Comrade Gorbachev emphatically said: Of course, we wish to cooperate with China in this field. World affairs are determined to a large extent by China's policies.

Rationalizing of Production Forces Needed

PM121237 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 12 Jan 88 p 3

[TASS report: "In the Process of Rationalization"]

[Text] Beijing, 11 Jan—The acceleration of the process of rationalizing the production structure of the PRC national economy is a key element in raising efficiency and achieving balance in the national economy, the newspaper GUANGMING RIBAO writes. In raising this topical problem the newspaper points out that "a very great gulf" exists at present between China and the economically developed states. The PRC's production forces are backward and the development level of its commodity economy is low. Labor productivity in industry and agriculture is several dozen times lower than the leading level.

At the same time, GUANGMING RIBAO continues, the national economy's production structure remains irrational. Food in China is produced mainly on the basis of manual labor and the output volume of auxiliary businesses cannot satisfy the population's steadily mounting needs. Modernized industry comprises only part of the national economy while the majority of its echelons are backward. This applies primarily to base sectors like energy, the raw material complex, transport, and communications.

Naturally, the newspaper writes, we cannot fail to see either that national industry already has a definite base and an autonomous and comparatively integrated system in Chinese industry has begun to take shape.

Right now a discussion has been launched in PRC scientific theory circles about "the criteria for optimizing the production structure with a consideration for China's present realities." Scientists are emphasizing the need for "the rational combination of the planned and market principles," for "the achievement of unity between supply and demand" and the establishment of "appropriate proportions between the civilian and military sectors of the economy."

Southeast Asia & Pacific

CPV Purge Must Occur According to Demands

PM141643 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent M. Domogatskikh: "In an Exacting and Businesslike Manner"]

[Text] Hanoi, 13 Jan—A Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee Politburo resolution adopted last September on purging party organs and the state apparatus and making party organizations more militant and increasing their role in improving social relations said that during the years of the revolutionary struggle the party raised a large detachment of cadres who demonstrated absolute firmness in implementing the CPV line and utter devotion to the homeland and the people. But in the past 10 years more serious negative phenomena which must be eliminated have appeared in the ranks of party workers and state employees. The purge of the party and state apparatus must take place in accordance with the principles of increasing demands on every Communist, periodically checking and renewing work methods, and comprehensively developing criticism.

"This is no episodic campaign but a long-term operation," I was told at the CPV Central Committee, "because the strengthening of party ranks and improvement of the vanguard role and militancy of party organizations are a strategic task."

The Politburo resolution gave party organizations the right to extensively monitor the activity of state and economic bodies.

The party committee in Quang Ninh Province, the country's coal base, for example, expelled 20 senior officials from the party for taking bribes, speculating in coal, and selling fuel outside the state distribution system. In Dong Thap Province a check revealed instances of corruption, speculation, bribery, and economic crimes involving not only trade and supply personnel, but also two members of the provincial party committee bureau.

In Lang Son Province more than 120 leading provincial and district personnel and personnel of state security and trade bodies have been expelled from the party and prosecuted. Valuables worth several million dong were recovered and large sums of money were confiscated from the degenerates, the paper NHAN DAN writes. For thefts on a particularly large scale 46 people were given the maximum prison term.

Promotion to a senior post, NHAN DAN writes, is symbolic of the party's and people's great trust and the job must be cherished and carried out with the utmost honesty. You cannot say the words "living the people's life" and then do the opposite. Being aware of one's responsibility to the people and being loyal to their interests is the supreme duty of every Communist.

Lao Foreign Ministry Addresses Border Problem

LD142132 Moscow TASS in English 2023 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Vientiane January 14 TASS—TASS correspondent Boris Shumeyev reports:

A press conference for Lao and foreign journalists was held here today in connection with the situation on the Lao-Thai frontier in the southern part of the Xaignabouri Province. The documents which convincingly show that the "disputable" section belongs to the Lao People's Democratic Republic were shown to those present by a representative of the Foreign Ministry of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

On August 18, 1987, he said, the Foreign Ministry of the Lao People's Democratic Republic sent the proposal for negotiations to be held. The Thai side's reply came four months later, on December 25, 1987, and in it there were up to seven preliminary conditions which stand in the way of the meeting. The Thai side's proposals of December 25, 1987 and January 4, 1988 are part of the plan to use their non-acceptance by the Lao side as a pretext for resumption of hostilities. On December 27 Thai troops launched broad scale attacks with the use of heavy artillery, aircraft and chemical weapons. On January 7 and 9 they used heavy artillery again to destroy local garrissons, and fired up to 2,000 shells. They also used combat helicopters armed with missiles.

These actions clearly show that the Thai side is not interested in negotiations and exactly therefore disregards the Lao side's proposals to cease fire and to immediately hold negotiations without any strings attached. The Thai side would like to fully annex the above-mentioned area and then to act as it was in the case of three villages, that is to declare: "There are no more problems, there is no need of negotiations. We are waiting for the Lao side to display good will."

Journalists were shown fire arms, ammunition and various equipment of Thai soldiers and also fragments of 250 kg bombs which were dropped on Lao positions.

Lao Envoy on New Political Thinking, Summit

BK131230 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0530 GMT 12 Jan 87

["View" by Yuriy Mikhayev, Soviet ambassador to Laos, on "The Model of New Political Thinking in International Relations"—read by announcer]

[Text] Based on the theory of international relations and cohesion adopted during the 27th CPSU Congress, the Soviet Union has formulated its foreign policy in line with a new political thinking in international relations. The basic principle of the new thinking is very simple. Nuclear war cannot provide the means to solve political, economic, ideological, or any other problems. The principle is the manifestation of the revolutionary virtues, which are characterized by righteousness and aimed at elimination of the old consciousness regarding war and peace.

The political line pursued by the CPSU and Soviet Government is aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear war and at providing a firm guarantee for the mankind's survival. This political line has been implemented in present international undertakings.

The nature and ultimate goals of the political line were clearly brought into full play with the meeting between CPSU Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Washington in early December 1987. The Soviet-U.S. summit meeting has become a significant event not only in Soviet-U.S. relations, but also in the world's political life. The signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Short-Range Missiles was indeed an act toward the elimination of nuclear weapons and a victory of the new political thinking. The meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan also facilitated the effort to improve strategic stability and reduce the dangers resulting from conflicts. The Soviet-U.S. summit talks in Washington have shown the correctness of the USSR's

political and foreign affairs policies and the plan to gradually eliminate nuclear weapons from now until the end of the 20th century, which was announced by the Soviet leader on 15 January 1986. The treaty signed in Washington has a momentum that will lead to disarmament for other groups of countries.

The summit meeting in the U.S. capital focused on strategic arms reduction. In this connection, Mikhail Gorbachev said the Soviet Union is prepared to reduce strategic arms by 50% in compliance with the treaty on missile elimination that was ratified in 1972, because the treaty is the key to the total elimination of strategic offensive weapons. More importantly, the Soviet and U.S. delegations in Geneva have drafted a treaty on a 50% reduction in strategic weapons. It is believed that the real reason for Ronald Reagan's visit to Moscow in early 1988 is the signing of the treaty.

The beginning of negotiations between the Soviet Union and United States on Warsaw Pact and NATO military affairs in a bid to turn them into strictly defensive groups will be very meaningful. This was proposed by the Soviet Union, and the United States agreed, in principle, to consider this matter.

During the meeting Gorbachev pointed out the necessity for a quick signing of the treaty on a total ban on nuclear testing as the first step. Both sides have agreed to hold consultations to seek effective control measures that will facilitate ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaties of 1974 and 1976. Initial consultations were made regarding disarmament in Europe and the elimination of chemical weapons.

It is regrettable that the United States recently delayed drafting the agreement on a general and total ban on chemical weapons. Moreover, since 16 December of this year, the United States has begun producing new types of chemical weapons such as the binary weapon. This is an act of obstinately obstructing the process of chemical weapons reduction and of disregarding the endeavors of the states attending the meeting on arms disarmament. It shows an indifferent attitude toward the multilateral talks on a ban of the said destructive weapons and repeated calls by the United States to expedite such talks. The Soviet Union condemns such acts by the United States for they will lead to new developments regarding chemical weapons that will require appropriate measures with which to deal. As we know, the Soviet Union has ceased production of chemical weapons and has never used them again, nor has it ever given the weapons to other people or kept them outside its territory. Moreover, our country is preparing to destroy all chemical weapons.

Generally speaking, before and during the Washington summit meeting, the Soviet Union made an effort to place the problems of disarmament, the nuclear threat, detente, confrontations in different parts of the world, and strengthening of the new order of international relations at the top of the meeting agenda. That is what happened during the summit meeting. This is proof the new political thinking has paved its own way step by step because it has come into existence with the realistic conditions of the present era.

Near East & South Asia

Vasilyev Commentary on U.S. Policy on Israel

LD151439 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—TASS commentator Grigoriy Vasilyev writes:

The problem of the situation in the Gaza Sector and the West Bank of the Jordan River can be resolved as an integral part of an overall peace process, including direct talks between Israel and its Arab neighbours. This has been stated at a briefing by Marlin Fitzwater, spokesman for the White House.

In other words, the U.S. Administration whose opinion was quoted by the high-ranking administration official reaffirmed that the essence of its Middle East policy was the counting on unequal direct talks between Israel and Arab countries according to the Camp David scenario in conditions of a continuing occupation of Arab lands by Tel Aviv.

This policy is obviously aimed at creating most favourable conditions for Israel in which it could work for achieving its expansionist goals by way of gross power pressure and blackmail. It is not accidental that a way of separate behind-the-stage deals was resolutely turned down by Arab countries which supported the idea of holding a representative international conference on the Middle East with the participation of five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and all the parties involved in the conflict.

The U.S. is more and more disappointed over its inability to seriously influence the explosive situation in the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Sector, said a presenter of the NBC television company. It is actually not its inability, but the obvious unwillingness of Washington to clearly denounce the outrages of Israel, U.S. partner by a strategic anti-Arab alliance.

Tel Aviv which is trying to drown in blood the popular Palestinian uprising turns down one resolution of the U.N. Security Council after another. They all demand that an end be put to outrages and crimes of the invaders. The imposing of sanctions on the aggressor, including an embargo on arms deliveries, seems to be long overdue.

Israel 'Brutal' in Attacks on Palestinians

LD141656 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Amman January 14 TASS - Two Palestinians were killed and several wounded as a result of clashes with Israeli troops that were called in to suppress mass actions of protest by the indigenous Arab population in the Israel-occupied lands of the West Bank of the Jordan and Gaza Sector.

A ten-year boy wounded in the chest by Israeli soldiers was rushed to hospital in a serious condition. Another three people, among them two girls under 12, died today in hospitals. They, like tens of other Palestinians, fell victim to toxic gases being used by the occupiers.

On Wednesday Israeli authorities announced the deportation of four Palestinian patriots from the occupied territories. The deportees, despite the Lebanese Government's protests, were helicoptered to the so-called security zone which had been illegally set up by Israel in Lebanon's south.

"Thereby Tel Aviv has again shown disrespect for U.N. resolutions and international laws", stated Bassam Abu Sharif, a prominent Palestinian figure.

Apart from brutal physical violence against Palestinians and depriving them of elementary political rights, the occupation authorities subject the population of the West Bank of the Jordan and Gaza Sector to the most ruthless economic oppression.

Thousands of Palestinian workers both in the occupied territories and in Israel itself were dismissed recently alone as 'one of measures to combat unrest'.

Over the twenty years of the occupation, more than 70 per cent of all Palestinian enterprises in the West Bank of the Jordan and in Gaza Sector have been closed down. Unemployment has assumed threatening proportions. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have to look for a job in Israel itself where they get 66.7-75 per cent lesser wages than Jewish workers.

By means of taxes Israel has pumped 800 million dollars out of the pockets of Palestinian workers over the 20 years, and about 80 million dollars last year alone.

The occupiers have confiscated more than 60 per cent of fertile lands in the West Bank of the Jordan under various pretexts and, first of all, on the plea of 'ensuring security'.

Marrack Goulding, United Nations undersecretary-general, has decided to extend his stay in the occupied Arab territories for another several days. He is gathering factual material on the position of the Palestinians.

The prime minister of Israel has declined to receive Mr Goulding who was also denied a right to visit a number of Palestinian refugee camps, including Jabaliya and al-Shati blocked by the occupiers.

PLO's Mubarak on Israel Deporting Palestinians

LD142136 Moscow TASS in English 2002 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—The reports reaching here on fresh facts of deportation of Palestinians by the Israeli occupation authorities are evidence of the toughening of Zionist terror, Musa Mubarak, press attache of the representation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the USSR, said today.

Speaking in an interview with TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev, he stressed that the expulsion of Palestinians from their native lands is part of the repressive "mailed fist" policy pursued by the Zionists in the occupied Arab territories. The deportation is assuming a planned character today: The occupiers have set out to drive the Palestinians out of their lands and thus "settle"the Palestinian problem Zionist-style.

Yet even the toughest repressions meted out by Tel Aviv could not suppress the mass actions by the Palestinian people, on the contrary, the flames of the popular uprising have swept all the Israeli occupied territories. For 40 days now, unarmed Palestinians—women, old people and children—are displaying unprecedented courage in fighting against the enemy armed to the teeth. Tens of peaceful civilians have already fallen at the hands of the invaders and hundreds have been injured. Thousands of Palestinians have been put into jails and concentration camps. The current actions of the Palestinian people for their inalienable right—the right to live in their own land, the right to create their own independent state under the leadership of the sole legitimate representative PLO—have exceeded in their scale and intensity all the preceding actions. They have dispelled the fabrications of the Zionists to the effect that they are confronted with a bunch of "terrorists", while the Palestinian actions are merely "disorder". The events in the Israeli-occupied territories have demonstrated that the Palestinian people have not resigned themselves to occupation, that the Palestinian problem remains the heart of the Middle East conflict, that without PLO's participation any attempt at a settlement is doomed to a failure.

The sole real way to a Middle East settlement is the convocation of an international conference under the U.N. aegis with the participation of all sides concerned, including PLO. The idea to convene such a conference has met with universal support, and its implementation is opposed today only by Israel and its allies in the USA, Musa Mubarak said.

We urge all the progressive forces the world over, he said in conclusion, to come out in defense and support of the Arab people of Palestine and put a stop to the Israeli genocide.

Tripoli Forum Calls for Aid to Palestinians
LD151039 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Tripoli January 15 TASS—The participants in a session of the International Secretariat of Solidarity with Arab Peoples have stated their support for the Palestinian people's uprising in the Israel-occupied Arab territories.

The session which ended in Tripoli in the capital of Libya on Thursday was attended by delegations of more than twenty countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, among them a delegation of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and delegates of national liberation movements and a number of international organizations.

They called on the world public and on all progressive and peace forces of the world to render material assistance to the Palestinians.

The participants in the session approved a resolution condemning the terror unleashed by the Zionists in the lands captured by them, and emphasising that Washington's support for the expansionist course of Tel Aviv encourages it to the perpetration of new crimes.

Brutents Returns From Mideast Tour
PM141250 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, returned to Moscow 13 January after visiting Democratic Yemen, Syria, Egypt, Kuwait, and the UAE as special representative of the Soviet leadership.

Number of Captured Afghan Rebels Arms Cited
LD141630 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1452 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul, 14 Jan (TASS)—The BAKHTAR agency has reported a summary of data regarding the results of military actions in the Zadran region, which led to the liberation of the strategic Gardeyz-Khowst road from the counterrevolutionary bands and to the lifting of the blockade on the Khowst district. The report points out that the dushmans were driven out from almost 10 of their base areas. Nine bands have been completely destroyed. In the Shiniah and Shulak regions 106 weapons and ammunition stroes, 144,000 rocket projectiles, 19 heavy machine guns, 4 mortars, and 5 anti-aircraft guns were captured. "Stinger" and "Blowpipe" anti-aircraft missiles, 60,000 units of ammunition for grenade launchers, 62,000 projectiles for recoilless guns, and millions of rifle, submachine gun, and machine gun rounds were discovered. Engineering units have made safe 1800 mines and repaired 8 completely destroyed sections of road. Traffic safety along the road is now being ensured by monitoring posts [kontrolnyye posta] of the Armed Forces.

Dhaka Envoy on Afghan Pullout Beginning by May
OW141111 Tokyo KYODO in English 1043 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Dhaka, Jan. 14 KYODO—The Soviet ambassador to Bangladesh said Thursday Soviet troops may begin withdrawing from Afghanistan by May, provided an agreement to that affect is reached in Geneva.

At a press conference at the local Soviet Club, Ambassador V.G. Belyayev said, "If the Geneva accords are to be signed on March 1, May 1 can become the initial day for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afhanistan." Belyayev said his statements reflect the official position Moscow relayed to him.

Referring to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on the Afghan issue in Washington last month, the ambassador said Moscow wants a political settlement which can be achieved provided there is the political will from concerned quarters.

"We do not want and are not striving for the establishment of a pro-Soviet regime in Afghanistan, but the American side must also clearly and precisely state that it does not strive for setting up a pro-American regime there," the ambassador said in a written statement.

The press conference which centered mostly on the outcome of last month's superpower summit in Washington was told by the ambassador that the "only obstacle in solving the problem was the position of the United States."

Expressing his optimism for early solution of Afghan problem, Belyayev said prospects for solving the Kampuchean conflict were also good.

Kabul Rally Marks Gorbachev 'Peace' Statement
LD141929 Moscow TASS in English 1859 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 14 TASS—A public meeting has been held in the Afghan capital today on the occasion of the second anniversary of Mikhail Gorbachev's statement proclaiming the Soviet program for stage-by-stage elimination until the end of this century of all nuclear weapons and other mass destruction weapons.

Gorbachev's statement is a large-scale program of humanity's entry into the nuclear-free age, Abdol Wahid Sorabi, Afghan minister of higher and special education, said. To achieve this great aim, the speaker stressed, it is necessary to pool the efforts of all the peoples. The objectivity of preserving peace should be placed over and above all the differences and divergencies. Such a chance to establish lasting peace shall not be missed.

The signing in Washington of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has been the first step on the way towards eliminating the nuclear weapons.

The arms race is a heavy burden onto the shoulders of the peoples, the minister said. If an end is put to it, a vast part of the resources thus released could be used for the program for scientific, cultural and social development.

The Afghan people, the speaker said in conclusion, ardently supports the Soviet Union's policy directed at preserving peace on earth.

Najibullah on Fruits of Reconciliation Policy

LD141737 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent M. Leshchinskiy report from Kabul—recorded]

[Text] On 15 January it will be a year since the declaration on national reconciliation in Afghanistan came into force.

[Leshchinskiy] Among the many events accompanying this anniversary in the republic, there is nothing quite like the Afghan youth festival. They are not soliders, but the war has entered each of their lives. Today hundreds of signatures were put under a new appeal for an end to the war. It is precisely on this that their future and the very existence of the people depend.

The festival was held next door to a hall which last year was witness to a most important event. It was precisely here that the new Afghan Constitution, which sealed by legislation the concept of national peace and accord, was adopted. It was here that Najibullah was elected president of the Republic of Afghanistan. [Video shows Leshchinskiy, talking to Najibullah in an office]

[Leshchinskiy] I remember very well that day 15 January when the unilateral cease-fire came into force, when the troops returned to their permanent military stations, and their weapons snapped shut. At that time, you said that maybe one day the Afghan people would make 15 January a holiday, a national day of peace. And so, a year has passed. What has been realized in that time? What have you succeeded in doing, and what have you not been able to do?

[Najibullah in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] The main thing, the president said, is that national reconciliation has become a reality, our life. All political forces both inside our country and abroad have to reckon with this. Thousands of villages have been saved from destruction, the lives of tens of thousands of countrymen have been spared; there are new enterprises; houses, mosques, irrigation ditches, and schools have been rebuilt—these are the first fruits of national reconciliation.

As each day passes, more and more Afghans are starting to speak with one another in the language of peace. The unilateral cease-fire and major compromises and concessions have demonstrated to the whole world the readiness of people's power to begin a peace dialogue with the opposition and to find peaceful ways of settling the internal conflict.

Najibullah WASHINGTON POST Interview Cited

LD142152 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 14 TASS—President of Afghanistan Najibullah received correspondent of the newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST Elizabeth Graham and answered her questions. Dwelling on the results of a recent visit to the Republic of Afghanistan by member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Najibullah noted that the talks had passed in the spirit of complete mutual understanding and identity of views. The question on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan was considered above all from the viewpoint of further consolidating friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries. Najibullah said Afghanistan is for the development of cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and is also for the development of cooperation with capitalist countries, including the United States. But the road of friendship must not be a road with one-way traffic, the president said. He said Afghanistan is prepared to meet other countries half-way, that it acts relying on new thinking and is in favour of resolving all disputed problems through a dialogue, and not by military methods.

Answering the question about the development of the political situation in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the president said that if outside interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs is not stopped completely and guarantees for its non-resumption are not given, the Afghan armed forces have everything necessary to protect Afghanistan's territorial integrity and independence. The government troops now control all the provincial and district centres, as well as 55 per cent of all populated localities.

Dwelling on the principles of the creation of a coalition government, Najibullah said that they are based on a broad participation of all political forces of society in

governing the state. It is necessary to take into consideration the concrete influence of those forces. Many things were offered to the opposition and we are prepared to talk with it on all questions, the president said.

Khowst Relief Operation Reported
PM141515 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[Dispatch by own correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik: "The Khowst Road"]

[Text] Kabul-Gardeyz-Khowst—Our two camouflaged Soviet helicopters were flying unusually close to the snow-capped peaks. The meandering steel ribbon of heavy trucks under the protection of twin-mounted antiaircraft guns and armored personnel carriers was clearly visible from above. Gun positions and trenches for all-around defense ran along the narrow route. While farther off, in the spurs of the mountains, the pall of explosions and clouds of black smoke would rise occasionally: The artillery was pounding dushman positions and destroying the long-term fortifications and munitions dumps.... The operation to wipe out Jalaluddin's bandit formations was continuing.

We were flying over the Gardeyz-Khowst road. Just 2 weeks earlier it had been considered inaccessible, particularly that section of it which crosses the Sataw Kandaw Pass. Dushmans led by foreign advisors had made the road "impassable to vehicles": There were roadblocks on the steep inclines, multilayered minefields, machinegun fire....

The pass is 5 km long. The assault on the approaches to it lasted almost 5 days. The commanding heights were taken by storm. Initially aircraft and artillery neutralized the fire plan, and then groups of Soviet and Afghan assault troops went forward into the breach created.

Assault troops of the battalion commanded by Guards Major N. Petrov displayed tactical astuteness and audacity. The foothills of the pass were taken by the assault troops during the night by means of rapid forward bursts. They drew massive dushman fire down upon themselves. Meanwhile the company headed by Guards Captain V. Zubarev, holder of the Order of the Red Star, cleared the road of combined multilayered minefields. Guards Captain Zubarev, who had been concussed twice during fighting on the pass, described to me the boundless courage shown by the sappers. Those who had particularly distinguished themselves included Guards Lieutenant A. Popov, Guards Sergeant Ye. Kupriyanov, and Guards Private Ye. Nekipelov, who had neutralized 100 mines and charges. Soviet and Afghan sappers had lifted a total of more than 700 mines on the road across the Sataw Kandaw Pass.

Lieutenant Bakhoruddin, commander of a commando platoon and member of the PDPA, together with two assault troops had taken one of the commanding peaks in the pass and thereby secured the capture of a vantage point for a battalion of the 37th commando brigade. Junior Lieutenant Mohammed Takhir, commander of a sapper platoon, and Private Qadir cleared 24 antitank mines under dushman fire. There, at their combat positions, the courageous assault troops and sappers were presented with combat awards by Lieutenant General Shahnawaz Tanay, chief of the Afghan Army General Staff. The courage and heroism of Soviet servicemen—Major V. Matskevich, Sergeant A. Aliyev, Private S. Fateyev, and others—was acknowleged by the presentation of Afghan combat awards.

The firing on the pass had still not abated nor the smoke cleared over captured and blown-up Sar Aneh, the base area for Jalalludin's gangs, when the first convoys set out on the Khowst road carrying bread, fuel, and medicines.... Free assistance arriving from the Soviet Union is being delivered on hundreds of trucks. In particular, Azerbaijan is providing equipment for wells—there is a water shortage in Khowst—hundreds of sets of clothing, and essential items.

In Khowst I witnessed the genuine joy with which the local population greeted one of our convoys. Exultant children jumped on the footboard of our vehicles, and Afghan vehicles. Women brought water for drivers exhausted after a 7-hour drive, and graybearded old men came up and greeted them....

So far 12 such convoys, each comprising 150-200 vehicles on average, have arrived in Khowst. More than 15,000 tonnes of various freight, including 630 tonnes of essentials, 120 tonnes of clothing, more than 100 tonnes of flour, and 14 tonnes of medical supplies, have already been delivered. Dozens of activists sent by the capital's party and youth organizations, the Council of Ministers, and the Revolutionary Council of the Republic of Afghanistan to reinforce the people's power have arrived in Khowst. A great number of political, economic, and social tasks are now being promptly tackled.

...Firing and the odd explosion are still to be heard along the Khowst road. Soviet and Afghan subunits are destroying the remanants of the gangs. But a constant stream of convoys is moving along the route, hurrying toward Khowst.

Nicaraguan Sandinist Delegation Arrives in Kabul
LD141949 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1731 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul, 14 Jan (TASS)—A delegation from the Nicaraguan Sandinist National Liberation Front arrived today in Kabul at the invitation of the PDPA Central Committee. The delegation is led by Jose Pasos, deputy head of the international department of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Zimbabwe's Mugabe Invites Gorbachev for Visit

LD141453 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan (TASS)—Anatoliy Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, today received Oswald Ndangwa, ambassador of Zimbabwe in the USSR, at the latter's request. On behalf of Robert Mugabe, the leader of the Zanu-PF party and president of the Republic of Zimbabwe, the ambassador delivered an invitation to Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to pay an official visit to Zimbabwe. Exchange of views also took place regarding the further expansion of cooperation between the CPSU and Zanu-PF, which is in the process of unifying all of the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe within the ranks of this party.

Societies Provide Anti-Epidemic Aid to Mali

PM131443 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Goodwill Gesture"]

[Text] Bamako, 8 Jan—A gift-giving ceremony has been held here; the gift was given by the USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to the Malian Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. The valuable load—a consignment of medical supplies, medical equipment, and domestic equipment—is earmarked for assisting the population of the cities of Kati, Kita, Kayes, and other population centers in the Republic of Mali in the struggle against the consequences of yellow fever and cholera epidemics.

East Europe

Jaruzelski, Genscher Discuss European Security

LD141048 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw January 14 TASS—Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the State Council of Poland, received Wednesday Hans-Dietrich Genscher, deputy federal chancellor and the minister of foreign affairs of West Germany, staying in Poland on an official visit.

During the discussion of the international situation and prospects of the consolidation of mutual trust and security in Europe, they pointed out the expediency of the pooling of efforts by the two countries and creating conditions for the continuation of the detente and disarmament process in the East-West relations, the PAP news agency reports.

Jaruzelski spoke about the initiatives and work of Poland at the European forum aimed at reducing armaments and consolidating trust, as well as promoting a European dialogue. The consolidation of a political stabilization in Europe is especially important in this context. Respect for the existing territorial and political setup in the European continent continues to be an indispensable condition for its. [sentence as received]

When giving an assessment of the process of normalizing Polish-West German relations, participants in the talks pointed out the need for a further active development of bilateral relations by way of positive steps, especially in the economic sphere, as well as for the removal of obstacles and difficulties existing in various spheres, PAP points out.

Genscher Ends Poland Visit

LD132218 Moscow TASS in English 2040 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw January 13 TASS—FRG Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher has ended his official visit to Poland. In the course of his three-day stay in the country, he was received by First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, President of the Polish Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner and held talks with Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski.

Today Genscher left Warsaw. In the airport of the Polish capital he was seen off by Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski. Addressing the press conference before departure, the West German foreign affairs minister stressed that the results of his visit to Poland will contribute to developing bilateral relations.

Honecker, Rau on Arms Reductions Priorities

LD141647 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] GDR party and state leader Erich Honecker has reaffirmed that his country will strictly honour all commitments ensuing for it from the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces. It assumed the FRG would act accordingly, Honecker told Johannes Rau, premier of the FRG state of North Rhine Westphalia and vice chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, (SPD).

Both sides concurred that preserving peace was the central task of our time which required responsible politicians to do all they can.

The INF Treaty proved that given a sense of reality and readiness for compromise, also difficult international problems can be [words indistinct] held. This should serve as an example to follow in tackling other problems. The situation changed by the treaty should be used to derive a maximum profit for peace. The two men underlined the need for this first step to be followed by others, for a consistent advance on the road toward disarmament and detente. Above all, it must not be permitted that the elimination of intermediate-range missiles is

compensated for by new armament [words indistinct] in other fields as demanded by some protagonists of nuclear deterrence and a policy of military strength.

Honecker and Rau agreed that now priority must be given to a 50-per cent cut in strategic offensive weapons of the Soviet Union and the USA under strict compliance with the Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty, to a ban on chemical weapons and nuclear tests.

Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, emphasized the need for reducing and ultimately eliminating the remaining tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and for starting negotiations on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals. Asymmetries must be done away with by disarmament rather than by new armament in any field, he said.

LCY Plenum Hears Proposed Constitutional Changes

PM141701 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Communists' Decisive Role"]

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jan—Questions associated with the projected changes in the SFRY Constitution and also Communists' tasks in the course of incipient nationwide discussion of this document were on the agenda of the scheduled LCY Central Committee Plenum held here today.

Vidoje Zarkovic, LCY Central Committee Presidium member, delivered a report at the plenum. It would be simplistic to account for the constitutional changes solely by the serious problems and deformations existing in our country, the speaker said. It is a question of dynamic transformations in the structure of society, the development of productive forces and the need to integrate them, increased self-management awareness, the democratization of political relations, and so on. It must be admitted that within the LCY and within the framework of the entire sphere of society's organized forces we have not always been effective regarding implementing the process of transforming the political system. The party has stood still for a long time and has been the prisoner of dogmas and pragmatism. Therefore we have changed nothing in the political system and have sunk deeper and deeper into a societal crisis.

The main purpose of the amendments in socioeconomic relations, Zarkovic pointed out, is to reinforce working people's positions in the economy and their role in production management by lessening the influence of bureaucratic and technocratic forces. The amendments designed to enshrine in the country's Constitution the decisive role of market and other economic laws in the economic system are assuming extremely great significance.

Also of essential significance are the proposals which envisage clearer formulations in the SFRY Constitution regarding other forms of property: personal, private, and cooperative.

In the political system, the report says, the draft proposals are designed to democratize and boost the efficiency of the delegate system and improve the electoral system.

Zarkovic said in conclusion that it is rightly expected that Communists will defend the party position on this question in the course of discussing the amendments to the Constitution and will expose and conclusively reject attempts to revise the basic principles of socialism.

Antonov Receives CSSR's Rohlicek in Moscow

LD142121 Prague CTK in English 1919 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow Jan 14 (CTK correspondent)—Chairmen of the two parts of the Intergovernmental Czechoslovak-Soviet Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation Rudolf Rohlicek, Czechoslovak first deputy premier, and Aleksey Antonov, Soviet deputy premier, met here today.

They discussed questions connected with economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries. Special attention was devoted to concrete tasks resulting from the recent meeting of general secretaries of the Soviet and Czechoslovak Communist parties Mikhail Gorbachev and Milos Jakes.

Rudolf Rohlicek and Aleksey Antonov stressed the significance of new progressive forms of cooperation, especially of direct production, scientific and technological contacts and joint ventures.

West Europe

Swedish Radio's 'Dubious Facts' on Submarines

LD151019 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2145 GMT 14 Jan 88

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Nikolay Agayants]

[Text] The visit by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to northern European countries is continuing. He is now in the Norwegian capital following his stay in Sweden.

Judging by everything, the Soviet-Swedish talks were highly successful, fruitful, and imbued with the spirit of good-neighborliness and cooperation. However, such a development of events is plainly not to the liking of certain people, and they are hastening to throw a wrench in the works in order somehow to sour the atmosphere and cast a shadow over our relations.

Take, for instance, the observers of Swedish radio's Russian service who at the time of Comrade Ryzhkov's visit to their country prepared for Soviet listeners a highly unique analysis—if it may be called such—of relations between Sweden and the USSR, which spouted out a whole collection of dubious facts and judgements. Its authors were plainly trying to prove the impossible—namely, that our two countries are, it is claimed, in a state of very nearly constant interstate crisis. Fabrications about the so-called problem of Soviet submarines, which are allegedly always visiting Swedish territorial waters and violating the Kingdom's sovereignty, were brought out into the light of day. The long-past incident with our submarine is being endlessly inflated by the rightwing bourgeois press. Although this incident was fully exhausted back in 1981, pro-NATO reactionary circles in Sweden still from time to time drag out this question of Soviet submarines for general discussion. One simply cannot imagine why Swedish radio's Russian service needed to stir things up at this time. It can scarcely have been done for the purpose of consolidating cooperation between our two countries.

More on Ryzhkov Official Visit to Sweden

Visits Swedish Factories

LD131734 Moscow TASS in English 1614 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Stockholm January 13 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, today visited Alfa-Laval factories at the Swedish capital's suburb of Tumba.

Alfa-Laval AB, one of the leading industrial concerns in Sweden, was founded in 1983 by Gustav de Laval, the inventor of a cream separator. It produces equipment for processing milk and other foodstuffs.

Hans Stahle, chairman of Alfa-Laval's board, acquainted the distinguished Soviet guest with the organisation and technologies of production at the factories of the concern which maintains stable business contacts with the Soviet Union.

The head of the Soviet Government visited a dairy factory of the Arla cooperative in the city of Kallhall, which supplies with its products the population of Stockholm and a number of districts near the Swedish capital.

The factory uses the equipment manufactured by Alfa-Laval and the world-known firm Tetra-Pak which specialises in pre-packing and packaging a wide range of food products: milk, fruit juices, mineral water.

Ryzhkov had a conversation with the firm's president H. Rausing and senior officials of the Alfa cooperative.

Visits Goteborg

LD131824 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Stockholm January 13 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on an official visit here, left Stockholm for Goteborg tonight.

He is being accompanied by Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson.

On the same day, the chairman of Goteborg's council of city representatives gave a dinner in honour of Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Ingvar Carlsson was present at the dinner.

Speaks at Goteborg Dinner

PM151437 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 88 Morning Edition pp 1,4

[TASS special correspondent report under the general heading "To Strengthen Good-Neighborliness and Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] Goteborg, 14 Jan—On 13 January J. Linder, Goteborg City Council chairman, gave a dinner in honor of N.I. Ryzhkov.

Addressing those present at the dinner, J. Linder warmly greeted the high-ranking Soviet guest and expressed his satisfaction with the successful conclusion of the Soviet-Swedish talks. He emphasized that ties between Goteborg enterprises and their Soviet partners are founded on good traditions and voiced the hope that they will develop and grow stronger on a mutually advantageous basis.

In his speech N.I. Ryzhkov said:

I thank you, Mr Linder, for this friendly welcome and the warm reception accorded us in Goteborg. We feel we are among good, old friends here. There is good reason for this. After all, for several centuries our country has been linked with Goteborg, which has long been a major European port. And today, as in times of old, Goteborg and the entire economic region surrounding it are our active business partners.

This is certainly a good example to illustrate the healthy effect trade can have on interstate relations. Many Swedish companies linked with Goteborg are well-known in the Soviet Union and enjoy the reputation of reliable, priority partners. But there is more to it than this businesslike attitude. It is with a sense of sincere gratitude that our country always remembers how the Nohab firm began to deliver locomotives to Russia, even before Soviet Russia had been officially recognized by the Swedish Government. This contract is well-known in our country as the "1,000 locomotives for Lenin." We will also never forget that the first Soviet ball bearings

plant was built with technical cooperation from the SKF concern. We have broad trade and technical ties with the ESAB concern in the electric welding sphere. An interesting trip awaits us to automobile plants belonging to Volvo, cooperation with which will, we hope, develop in our mutual interests.

Of course, Soviet people remember how Goteborg organized a campaign to help children from Leningrad when it was under blockade in the difficult war years. It is probably no accident that Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony, written during the blockade and dedicated to the suffering and triumph of the people of Leningrad, was first performed abroad here, by the Goteborg Symphony Orchestra. Therefore, it is quite natural that the friendly relations between Leningrad and Goteborg born during the war against Hitler's fascism are still developing and growing stronger. In the same way, we hope that business, cultural, and other ties between the Soviet Union and Sweden will continue to develop and grow stronger.

We are sure that Goteborg will continue to play an active role in this positive process of such great significance today. Very important preconditions are now materializing in this respect. The theme of rapprochement and cooperation between peoples has new force since the recent Washington meeting.

This theme forms the basis of the Soviet foreign policy course and its philosophy embodied in the concept of a comprehensive international security system. But even the process of internal change taking place in the Soviet Union and the plans for radical economic restructuring and acceleration of scientific and technical progress serve as important factors in the development and deepening of friendship and cooperation with other countries. In the course of the restructuring process new, objective preconditions are being created for expanding mutually advantageous ties between the Soviet Union and Sweden in trade, industry, science, and culture. Strengthening the foundations of socialism in the USSR, democratization and economic reform open a new chapter in our economic relations with other countries. Our full, broad participation in world economic relations is a logical feature of this chapter.

Considering the prospects from this standpoint, we can see great potential for expanding cooperation and business relations with our traditional Swedish partner and with many new ones. This issue was the subject of a detailed, serious, and extensive exchange of opinions in our talks with Prime Minister Carlsson and members of the Swedish Government, and we are satisfied with the results.

They say that Goteborg is the Cambridge of Sweden and that the alumni of its Chalmers Higher Technical School enjoy special prestige and play a big role in the business world. It is a well-known fact that in the economy, as in many other spheres, success depends on the ability to look a long way ahead. We are sure that, with such remarkable quality, knowlege, experience, and intuition in the best traditions of the Chalmers School, the leaders of Swedish industry will appreciate the possibilities inherent in Soviet-Swedish relations. They can be confident that their efforts will meet with full sympathy and support on our part.

Our stay in Goteborg completes our visit to Sweden. It has been short but productive. I would like to thank the Swedish Government and people for their hospitality. Please also accept our gratitude, Mr Mayor. I sincerely wish good health to everyone here and peace and prosperity to the Swedish people.

The dinner passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere. It was attended by I. Carlsson.

Agreements Signed

PM150831 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet-Swedish Documents Signed"]

[Text] Stockholm, 13 Jan—A number of Soviet-Swedish documents—intergovernmental agreements on the principles governing the demarcation of waters in the Baltic Sea, on the prompt notification of nuclear accidents, and on the exchange of information on nuclear installations—were signed here today.

N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and I. Carlsson, prime minister of Sweden, signed these agreements.

A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and P. Schori, general secretary of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, signed an agreement on visa questions.

A number of export and import contracts between Swedish enterprises and firms and Soviet organizations and departments have also been signed during the visit. They include an agreement between the State Committee for Foreign Tourism and the firms Siab and Reso for the creation of a joint enterprise for the remodeling, modernization, and joint use of the "Yevropeyskaya" Hotel in Leningrad; protocols of intent relating to the delivery to Sweden of Soviet natural gas between the "Soyuzgazeksport" all-union association and the firms OK Petroleum and A. Johnson; a contract between the "Soyuznefteksport" all-union association and OK Petroleum to deliver to Sweden in 1988 about 2 million tonnes of petroleum and petroleum products. Analogous contracts have also been signed with a number of other Swedish petroleum companies: A contract between the "Sudoimport" all-union association and the Swedish shipyard Cityvarvet envisages the repair of a Soviet drilling ship. A number of license agreements have also been concluded.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers visited enterprises belonging to the Alfa-Laval concern in Tumba, a suburb of the Swedish capital. This is one of

the leading industrial concerns in Sweden, founded in 1883 by the inventor of the separator, Gustaf de Laval; it manufactures equipment for processing milk and a number of other types of food product. H. Stahle, chairman of the Alfa-Laval board, acquainted the prominent Soviet guest with the organization and production technology at the enterprises of the concern, which maintains stable business ties with the Soviet Union.

N.I. Ryzhkov visited the dairy plant at the Arla cooperative in the city of Kallhall, which supplies the population of Stockholm and a number of regions adjacent to the Swedish capital with its output. The plant shops use equipment from Alfa-Laval and the world famous Tetra Pak firm, which specializes in the packaging of a broad range of food products—milk, fruit juices, and mineral water. The head of the Soviet Government had a conversation with the firm's president, H. Rausing, and leaders of the Arla cooperative.

In the evening N.I. Ryzhkov and the officials accompaying him left Stockholm for Goteborg—the second largest city in Sweden after the capital and one of the largest ports in Europe. I. Carlsson is taking part in the trip around the country.

On the same day O. Linder, chairman of Goteborg City Council, gave a dinner in N.I. Ryzhkov's honor. I. Carlsson was present at the dinner.

Tours Swedish Companies

LD142113 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Ryzhkov has completed his official visit to Sweden:

[Correspondent V. Ilyashenko, identified by caption] [Video shows Ryzhkov in furniture shop] The IKEA furniture company is well-known not only in Sweden but abroad as well. It specializes in the manufacture and sale of furniture, and has branches in many countries, including the United States and Australia. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov today visited the IKEA trade center in Goteborg. He was accompanied by Swedish Prime Minister Carlsson. Gustafsson, the firm's managing director, acquainted the eminent Soviet guest with its merchandise and retailing system. The furniture here is sold through displays: The customer selects what appeals to him, purchases it in packaged kit form, and then assembles it himself. This considerably reduces the price of the furniture. The director announced that IKEA plans to establish business links and open up shops in a number of socialist countries.

Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov today visited the Volvo automobile works in Goteborg, held talks with the management, and familiarized himself with the concern's organization and production. A high technical level of production, rational labor organization, and high product quality enable the Volvo concern to compete successfully on the markets with the major West European and U.S. firms. Over the last few years, Volvo has been devoting a great deal of attention to perfecting passenger vehicle production, expanding production areas, and renewing its plant. The Volvo concern has done much research into perfecting antirust coatings for passenger vehicles, and for the last 2 years has provided an 8-year antirust guarantee on the bodywork of all its cars. More than 120 industrial robots have been installed at the works in Goeteborg over the past few years, and the machine-tool stock in the auxiliary productions has been considerably renewed. The concern is working fairly energetically in the socialist countries market as well: Since 1973, the Soviet foreign trade association Avtoeksport has bought Volvo trucks virtually every year. These are used for international haulage. Volvo representatives are expressing an interest in cooperating with Soviet foreign trade organizations.

Visit Summarized

PM151411 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

["On the Results of the Soviet-Swedish Talks"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, paid an official visit to Sweden 11 through 14 January 1988 at the invitation of the Swedish Government.

N.I. Ryzhkov had talks with Swedish Prime Minister I. Carlsson, Swedish government ministers, and the leaders of the country's political parties and had meetings and conversations with prominent members of the Swedish business world and public. During the visit N.I. Ryzhkov went to Stockholm and Goteborg, where he acquainted himself with various aspects of the life of Swedish society and activity of a number of local enterprises and firms.

During the talks with the Swedish Government head, there was an examination of topical problems: eliminating the threat of a world thermonuclear catastrophe, curbing the arms race, above all in nuclear arms, and reducing convential types of armed forces and armaments. IN addition they discussed the need to create an all-embracing system of international security, the problems of regional conflicts and elimination of hotbeds of tension in various spots in the world, and the development of the process of comprehensive cooperation between states with different social systems.

The sides stated with satisfaction that certain progress has been made in the reduction of nuclear arsenals. With the signing in Washington of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the first important step was taken on the path to accords envisaging the reduction of strategic armaments.

The sides noted the need to prevent the militarization of outer space, which poses the danger of a new, uncontrolled round of the arms race. The Soviet side drew attention in this connection to the importance of observing the provisions of the 1972 Soviet-American ABM Treaty, which serves as an obstacle to the transformation of space into a new arena of military rivalry. As the Swedish side noted, Sweden is opposed to the implementation of the U.S. "Star Wars" program and considers that outer space is the property of all mankind. Space should therefore be free from all types of armaments and serve as an arena of peaceful cooperation among all states in the interests of the peace and progress of all mankind.

The Soviet side confirmed its unswerving desire to bring about the destruction of all nuclear weapons in the world before the end of the 20th century, strictly in accordance with the principle of security on an equal basis for all and to use the impetus received as a result of the INF Treaty to implement even bigger measures in all areas of limitation of the arms race and disarmament, including the conclusion of a broad international treaty on the complete and all-embracing cessation of nuclear tests.

In this connection note was made of Sweden's positive role in the "Initiative of the Six for Peace and Disarmament," the leaders of which favor the cessation of nuclear weapon tests, reduction of nuclear arsenals, and prevention of the militarization of space and are offering assistance in monitoring the ending of nuclear tests. As for the Soviet Union, it has repeatedly noted its willingness to participate in businesslike cooperation with the participants in the six states' initiative, both in the sphere of achieving a complete and effectively verifiable cessation of nuclear tests and on a wider range of problems.

The Swedish side stated that it sees the question of halting nuclear tests as a real way to halt the nuclear arms race.

The Soviet side drew attention to the USSR's large-scale initiative set out by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev in his Murmansk speech in October 1987, which is intended to give a new impetus to efforts to create a nuclear-free zone in the European north, to contribute to the reduction of naval activity in the seas adjoining the north European region, and also to aid the further development of mutually advantageous cooperation in the development of the north's natural resources, the conduct of joint scientific research in the Arctic, and environmental protection in that area. The Swedish side noted that Sweden, which is in favor of stepping up efforts to create a north European nuclear-free zone as a step toward ridding the entire continent of Europe and, in the long run, the whole world of nuclear weapons, reacted with positive interest to the new Soviet proposals.

The Soviet side stated that the policy of traditional neutrality consistently pursued by Sweden, which has the broad support of the country's population, is making an important contribution to maintaining peace and stability in northern Europe. As for the Soviet Union, it invariably acts from positions of respect for Swedish neutrality and the country's national sovereignty.

The mutual desire was expressed to aid the further development of the all-European process started by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The sides came out in favor of the successful completion of the Vienna meeting and the holding, in accordance with its results, of the second stage of the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe which would examine questions directly connected with problems of disarmament in Europe. Mention was also made of the importance of examining in a constructive spirit the entire range of questions connected with strengthening security on the continent and creating an atmosphere of lasting trust between European countries, including humanitarian, economic, and other problems.

The Soviet Union and Sweden confirmed their adherence to UN principles, noting the important and urgent need to strengthen the role and authority of the United Nations as a unique instrument of the international community, which is making a considerable contribution to the quest for ways of strengthening peace and international security and interstate cooperation on the basis of rigorous observance of the norms and principles of the UN Charter.

In the discussion of questions of Soviet-Swedish relations, the sides formed the common opinion that their future comprehensive development in the spirit of good-neighborliness and equal mutually advantageous cooperation will help strengthen peace and security in Europe. It was stated with satisfaction that recently relations between the USSR and Sweden in the political, trade, economic, scientific, cultural, and other spheres have acquired new content and have been enriched with useful experience, to which Swedish Prime Minister I. Carlsson's official visit to the Soviet Union in April 1986 made a big contribution. Note was made of the importance of continuing regular contacts between the two countries' representatives at all levels to ensure better understanding of the sides' positions and eliminate the existing divergences of opinion, and deepen mutual understanding.

During N.I. Ryzhkov's visit agreements were signed on the principles of zone demarcation in the Baltic Sea, on the prompt reporting of a nuclear accident, and on exchange of information on nuclear installations, as well as agreements on visa matters.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the talks, which are bound to promote the strengthening and development of Soviet-Swedish good-neighborliness in

the interests of both countries and their peoples and the safeguarding of peace and security in Europe and the world as a whole.

Falin, Chervov, Others at Stockholm Seminar

LD101620 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Stockholm January 10 TASS—TASS Correspondent Nikolay Vukolov, Taras Lariokhin and Vadim Talanov report:

"Perestroyka, Glasnost, and Economic Reform" is the subject of a seminar which opened at the concert centre of the Swedish capital today.

The seminar which has been organized by the biggest Swedish newspaper DAGENS NYHETER is being attended by Viktor Afanasyev, editor-in-chief of PRAVDA newspaper, Valentin Falin, chairman of the board of the NOVOSTI press agency, Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, head of a department of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, by a number of prominent scientists and economists from the Soviet Union, Sweden, the United States, Britain, and by representatives of Swedish political and public circles.

When declaring the seminar open, Christina Jutterstroem, chief editor of DAGENS NYHETER, pointed out that the changes taking place in the Soviet Union now are characterised as revolutionary in their essence and evoke a lively interest in the world and in Sweden as well.

The Soviet participants in the seminar explained in detail the meaning and essence of the current restructuring process in the Soviet Union. It was pointed out that restructuring being effected on the initiative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with the support and participation of all Soviet people covers all spheres of societal life: economic, political and social.

An important role in the process belongs to democratisation and glasnost (openness) which becomes a norm of life for Soviet people. The new processes are of great international importance and are closely interconnected with the Soviet Union's foreign-policy course which is characterized by a new way of thinking in the nuclear age.

The INF Treaty signed in Washington during the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting and viewed throughout the world as the first important step in the cause of real elimination of nuclear arsenals became a vivid illustration of the Soviet Union's striving to proceed along the road towards a nuclear-free world.

All countries in the world, including Nordic ones, can and must contribute to the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security.

The new Soviet initiatives set out by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech in Murmansk are a reaffirmation of the Soviet Union's readiness for joint actions with these countries in the international arena in the interests of peace. The Soviet proposals contain a large-scale program aimed at strengthening security in the nordic region, and at making it an area of lasting and steady peace, at lowering the level of military confrontation here, and at strengthening the relations of trust, good-neighbourliness and cooperation.

In a wide-ranging discussion at the seminar the participants frankly exchanged opinions, and expressed their points of view on the substance of the issues discussed.

Today Swedish readers got acquainted with one of the issues of PRAVDA newspaper published in Swedish by DAGENS NYHETER specially for the seminar.

Hundreds of thousands of Swedish people were able to get first-hand information on the life and work of Soviet people and on their problems and concerns.

"The words 'perestroyka' and 'glasnost' are now clear to a majority of people of our country", Christina Jutterstroem, chief editor of DAGENS NYHETER, said in an interview with the TASS correspondents.

"The restructuring processes taking place in the Soviet Union are regarded with great attention among Swedish political, economic and social circles. The seminar acquires special importance, for it is being held on the eve of the forthcoming official visit to Sweden by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. We hope that the visit which will be a major event in relations between our two countries will serve to broaden mutual understanding between the Soviet and Swedish peoples."

Finland's Koivisto Comments on Baltic Agreement

LD132240 Moscow TASS in English 2117 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Helsinki January 13 TASS—President Mauno Koivisto of Finland gave high appraisal today to the Soviet-Swedish intergovernmental agreement on the principles for delineating the marine expanses in the Baltic, signed in the course of the visit by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Mauno Koivisto stressed in an interview with the Swedish telegraph bureau that he regarded the solution of the question of economic zones in the Baltic as positive. The president also touched upon international issues, stressing the historic significance of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on

Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles in Europe and also spoke of the need for neutral and non-aligned countries to take part in disarmament talks.

Finnish CP Supports Gorbachev's Peace Program

LD141547 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Helsinki January 14 TASS—The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Finland Central Committee (UNITY) expressed its support for the peace programme advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986, as well as for the Soviet-American Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate-and Shorter-Range Missiles in a statement, "To Cooperation and a Nuclear-Free World", issued here.

The treaty is the first step towards reducing nuclear arms and it cannot be put under threat by developing new means of mass destruction, the statement says.

The document urges all Finland's political forces to contribute to the earliest implementation of the Soviet-American treaty and to exert vigorous efforts to reduce strategic weapons and prevent the militarization of outer space.

The Communist Party of Finland (UNITY) pointed out the importance of creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe and supported the proposal on increasing confidence-building measures in northern seas.

Soviet-Finnish Trade Union Seminar Held

LD072209 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1646 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow 7 January (TASS)—Soviet and Finnish trade unions are ready to actively promote the expansion of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. This was stressed today at a news conference held on the occasion of the conclusion of the 31st sitting of the permanent Soviet-Finnish Trade Union Commission in Moscow. In a joint statement, the leaders of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR (AUCCTU) and of Finland's four major trade union centers—SAK [Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions], TVK [Confederation of Salaried Employees], AKAVA [Federation of Unions of Academic Workers] and STTK [Finnish Central Federation of Technical Functionaries]— assured journalists that they would exert "utmost efforts to create an atmosphere of goodwill around the discussion in public circles of the prospects for developing business links."

Stepan Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman, spoke in favor of the creation of joint Soviet-Finnish enterprises to raise mutually beneficial cooperation to a qualitatively new level. He believes such enterprises would be possible in the textile industry, in sportswear design, and in other areas. The creation by joint effort of sanatorium-health resorts on Soviet territory to serve the development of social tourism between the two countries, is of interest.

Noting "a certain restraint" on the part of Finnish business circles regarding joint activities with Soviet partners, Stepan Shalayev warned that they "might miss the boat", since there is an increasing flow of proposals from British, West German, Italian, and recently also U.S. firms. "As for Soviet trade unions, they are sincerely striving for new forms of joint contacts with Finnish workers to the benefit of the peoples of both countries," emphasized the AUCCTU secretary [as received].

Speaking on behalf of the Finnish delegation, SAK chairman Pertti Viinanen noted the need for trade union support for the idea of joint enterprises, and stated that Finnish trade unions are willing to act as intermediaries in such affairs.

On the results of the meeting, a protocol was signed on cooperation between the AUCCTU and Finland's trade union centers for 1988-1990. It envisages further concretization of trade union links. It was noted at the news conference that the two countries' trades unions are making preparations for this year's celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, which forms a solid legal basis for Soviet-Finnish relations.

Joint Cooperation Seminar With Finland

LD071639 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] A Soviet-Finnish seminar on problems of strengthening security and mutually advantageous economic and cultural cooperation between border states closed in Murmansk today. Taking part in it were members of parliament, representatives of Lapland, the people of Murmansk, and RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputies. The outcome of the seminar was the adoption of a joint statement that set out possible ways to further deepen economic and cultural links between the two neighboring states.

UK's Thatcher Praises Gorbachev, Perestroyka

PM141214 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 January 88 Second Edition p 4

[Text] London January 13 TASS—"There is no doubt that the last twelve months have seen some very important progress in improving (East-West) relations," said British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Speaking today before foreign journalists, she said that the credit for this belonged to Mikhail Gorbachev, General secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. "We must give due credit to Mr. Gorbachev. He is a man of remarkable energy and boldness. He clearly sees the need

for change in the Soviet Union if it is to be a successful society, measured not just in ability to send men into space and to devise the most modern weapons but in all other aspects of life."

The British prime minister said she fully supported the policies of perestroyka, of glasnost, in other words of greater personal involvement of the people of the Soviet Union. "If these policies succeed, as I sincerely hope they will, the Soviet Union will be a very different society, in which individuals will matter more than they do now," Thatcher said.

At the same time, she made stereotyped accusations against the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, repeating the myths about the alleged attempts by the USSR to undermine the West's positions in the world. She had to do this in order to justify her call to maintain and strengthen the West's "defense capability." In this connection, she called for closer cooperation among Western countries within NATO and the coordination of their military activity. "We are entering 1988 fully aware of the dangers awaiting us and understanding the nature of the system with which we are conducting talks," she said. "But I believe we have real prospects of success in 1988, and that by the end of the year the world will be safer."

U.S. Trying To Delay Leaving Spanish Base

PM151135 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Chernyshev "Correspondent's Commentary": "Removing Bases"]

[Text] Madrid—The Madrid newspaper EL PAIS has reported that Washington official circles admit that however much the United States resists, it will have to remove its aircraft from the Torrejon de Ardoz military base near the Spanish capital.

At talks lasting over 18 months now, the United States has used every method to try to convince the Spanish side that the transfer of the 72 F-16's from Torrejon will weaken NATO's southern flank and damage the West's defense might. However, Madrid's firm stance has forced Washington to recognize ultimately that the U.S. military base is too disturbing a neighbor for the Spanish capital. The Pentagon's attempts to have this base moved to another part of Spain have also been firmly rejected by Madrid.

The routine meeting between the two delegations that had been scheduled for mid-December 1987 was postponed. This provided the U.S. press with a pretext for writing that the talks had broken down, which both Washington and Madrid were quick to deny. However, the deadline is beginning to get tighter: The text of a new bilateral treaty has to be formulated by mid-May, before which Spain and the United States have to reach agreement on the base at Torrejon.

Washington has now accepted in principle that it will not succeed in changing Madrid's position and that the U.S. aircraft will have to be removed. The newspapers are writing that the Pentagon is no longer trying to make Madrid "shift" its stance but is trying to delay the transfer of the 72 F-16's for as long as possible. The Madrid newspaper EL INDEPENDENTE writes that a conversation took place between the Spanish foreign minister and the U.S. ambassador to Madrid back on 10 December. According to the newspaper's information, the head of the foreign policy department stated that Spain will not accept a period greater than 3 years. "The cordial atmosphere prevailing at meetings of this kind," the newspaper notes, "turned into a serious clash."

In such an atmosphere Washington is also trying to enlist the support of its NATO allies.

NATO 'Buildup' in Turkey Creates 'Imbalance'

PM131249 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[V. Pustov "International Review": "Turkey and NATO"]

[Text] When NATO tries to impute a superiority in conventional arms and armed forces to the Warsaw Pact, as a rule it glosses over the real asymmetry and imbalance that exist as a result of the historical features of the building of the two sides' armed forces. It also fails to mention other realities: The situation on the south flank of the North Atlantic bloc, for example. This is no accident. For it is there, on our borders, that NATO is ensuring considerable advantages for itself.

Take Turkey, for example. The Pentagon does not conceal the fact that it regards that country's territory as a bridgehead for military operations against the USSR and socialist countries in the Balkans and also as a staging post for transferring interventionist rapid deployment forces to the Near and Middle East.

In their book "Arena of Nuclear War," authors W. Arkin and R. Fieldhouse claim that the United States has made Turkey into what they call a tinder box. It has 60 bases and other military installations on its territory, many of which are being expanded and modernized. In all, 500 units of nuclear ammunition are concentrated at Incirlik, Erhac, Murtet, and other air bases. The Turkish public has been alarmed by press reports that the construction of large air bases that are evidently anti-Soviet in purpose is to be speeded up at Mus and Batman (in Eastern Anatolia, not far from the Soviet border). The Pentagon also attaches great importance to the numerous American electronic intelligence centers stationed in Turkey, which are primarily directed against the USSR.

An important, if not decisive role is being played by leading NATO countries in the implementation of the 5-year (1987 through 1992) program to modernize the Turkish Armed Forces which, incidentally, in terms of

the number of personnel (654,400) are second only to the United States in the bloc. According to Z. Yavuzturk, Turkish national defense minister, Turkey's needs with regard to modernization are very great. That is why it requires assistance from the NATO allies. The program provides for equipping the armed forces with new fighter aircraft, helicopters, tanks, missiles and the corresponding launch installations, radar stations, and so forth.

One of the biggest contracts (worth approximately $6 billion) is with the American General Dynamics corporation for the joint production of 152 of the latest F-16 aircraft at a Turkish plant in Murtet (east of Ankara). It is worth pointing out that the United States itself uses these aircraft to carry nuclear weapons. The first of the planes built at Murtet is expected to be transferred to the Turkish Air Force this month. In a report from Ankara, a correspondent for the British REUTER agency said frankly that the new aircraft "will be stationed in Western Turkey, opposite the Bulgarian border."

The F-16 program has still to be completed, but Ankara is already making it clear that "if the terms are exactly right" it will not rule out the possibility of buying the new French "Mirage" aircraft in the future. For the moment, however, measures are being taken to familiarize Turkish Air Force personnel with these aircraft.

There are also plans to develop joint operations with other NATO countries to produce 720 combat helicopters in the same place, Murtet. American, British, West German, French, and Italian firms are involved in the tendering for contracts (worth a total of $6 billion).

At the end of last year, Turkey joined a consortium comprising West German, Italian, Danish, Dutch, and Spanish firms. The consortium produces missiles and inertial navigation systems. The Turkish ASELSAN [name as published] group has been given an order to produce some important components for the "Stinger" missile. The general director of this association told a GUNES newspaper correspondent that the "Stinger" missiles produced by the consortium will be "on a par with the 'Stingers'" produced by the American General Dynamics concern. As part of the same consortium, Turkish enterprises will take part in producing "Maverick" air-to-surface guided missiles.

The administration responsible for developing and supporting the Turkish defense industry has approached 14 foreign firms with the request that they place their orders for mobile radar systems by 16 February. It has been announced that Turkey is looking for a foreign partner to jointly produce mobile missile launch installations. The newspaper GUNES reported recently that American and West German firms are fighting over the right to produce their tank in Turkey. I could continue the list of modern weapon systems and military equipment the manufacturing of which is being organized, or is already organized, in Turkey to suit both the NATO military-political leadership and bloc, and Ankara.

This buildup of what are already enormous forces on NATO's southern flank is taking place at a time when, after the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, people the world over are expecting important new steps on the path of disarmament, notably from NATO and the Warsaw Pact, including a reduction in conventional arms and armed forces. It is essential to sit down at the negotiating table to achieve this. As far as the USSR and its allies are concerned, they are prepared for the most cardinal measures, as is well-known. We could begin by eliminating the asymmetry and imbalance in the near future in order to radically reduce confrontation. It is up to the West.

Latin America & Carribean

Ortega: Aid to Contras Must Be 'Stopped'

LD141217 Moscow TASS in English 1118 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Havana January 14 TASS—The USA is doing its utmost to subvert the process of a peaceful settlement of the explosive situation in Central America, said Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. He noted in an interview with the Costa Rican radio station Radio Reloj that the planned "suspension" of the U.S. aid to contras up to January 20 is a mockery of the desire of the Nicaraguan people for peace. The U.S. financial and military aid to mercenary gangs must be stopped altogether rather than "suspended."

The USA, the president pointed out, is directly responsible for the death of thousands of Nicaraguans and for the economic damage to Nicaragua, running into millions of dollars. Under the conditions of the continued aggression by contras, depsite the calls of the Nicaraguan Government for a ceasefire, the Sandinist People's Army is forced to wage military operations to protect population. A ceasefire in Nicaragua fully depends on the USA dispatching hired gangs of terrorists against the country. At the same time the Nicaraguan leader said that the Sandinist government intended to take new moves to reach a ceasefire after a conference of the presidents of Central American countries to be held on January 15.

Each nation, Daniel Ortega went on to say, has the right to choose freely a social, political and economic system of their state. The Nicaraguan people, he said, chose a democratic model based on political pluralism, mixed economy and the non-aligned policy.

Aid Means 'More War'

LD142208 Moscow TASS in English 1948 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 14 TASS—"More United States aid to the Contras can only mean more war, more death and destruction," Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said in a NEW YORK TIMES article.

He added that 25,527 Nicaraguans, mostly women, children and farmers, had already been killed in the war against his country, a war funded by the U.S., and that economic damage was estimated at 3.5 billion dollars.

"During my trip to Washington last November, I discovered that many people were confused or misinformed about the nature and objectives of the Nicaraguan revolution," Ortega wrote, adding that Nicaragua was seeking to build a fully democratic society and that the Nicaraguan people backed the Sandinists. Both the ordinary people and the government wanted peace, he said.

"As long as the Contra war continues, along with the threat of a Grenada-style invasion, Nicaragua must maintain an army larger than needed in peacetime," the Nicaraguan president said.

He added that if his country received sufficient security guarantees from Washington, it would be prepared to establish limits on its army and armaments and dispense with foreign military advisers.

But the Reagan administration, Ortega said, "has demonstrated a total lack of responsiveness to Nicaragua's repeated initiatives for a peaceful, negotiated resolution of our differences."

Nicaragua Approves Regional Parliament Draft

LD181532 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 14 TASS—The Nicaraguan National Assembly ratified on Wednesday a draft treaty on establishing the Central American Parliament, following the decision to this effect of the meeting of Central American heads of state last August.

Representatives of all Nicaraguan political parties, except the People's Action Movement, spoke in favour of the draft. The deputies managed to overcome numerous differences and passed a common decision which will promote the democratisation process in Central American countries and contribute to finding peaceful ways of settling the Central American crisis.

Nicaragua is the second Central American country after Guatemala to have approved the establishment of the regional parliament.

Coming on the eve of the forthcoming meeting of five Central American presidents in San Jose, the decision will become an important step towards consolidating the efforts of the states of the region to overcome political and ideological differences, expanding all-round cooperation and establishing durable peace in that seat of tension.

Contra Explosives Depots Seized in Nicaragua

LD141409 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 14 TASS—The Sandinist People's Army has seized in the past few days several weapons and munition depots belonging to contra rebels, the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry reported on Wednesday that about 1,000 kilograms of plastic explosives for staging subversions at industrial and civilian installations were discovered at a major depot in Chontales Department.

Large quantities of fire arms and other military hardware, including American mortars and grenade launchers, were seized at a military base in the southern autonomous area on Wednesday.

The recent increase in the contra subversive activities has caused power failures in many regions. The Nicaraguan Energy Institute has launched energy-saving measures and introduced electricity rationing in Nicaragua's central regions, including Managua.

PRAVDA Sees U.S. Pressuring Panama Government

PM161439 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 88 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Vitaliy Gan article under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Underlying Reason for Pressure"]

[Text] Washington—More and more reports are appearing in Washington on the increasing American pressure being brought to bear on the Panamanian Government in an attempt to oust General M. Noriega, commander in chief of the national defense forces. Accumulating details and nuances like a snowball as they go along, these reports force one to draw a quite logical conclusion: By orchestrating this "information leak," U.S. administration representatives appear to have decided to prepare public opinion for the "surprise" of direct intervention in Panamanian affairs if the policy of "twisting Noriega's arm" fails to produce results.

The latest wave of provocation has been created by a report in THE WASHINGTON POST, which, quoting sources in the State Department and Congress, gave information on a secret trip to Panama last week by R. Armitage, U.S. assistant defense secretary, who had been assigned the exclusive task of ensuring the "voluntary resignation" of Noriega and his entourage. According to the newspaper, the Washington envoy had a "long, confidential conversation" with the general who, as the same sources pointed out, was told that "this is our policy" and nothing must interfere with it.

At present no one, not even these Washington "officials," is saying anything about Noriega's reaction to this blatant and, it must be said, shameless American diktat or about the results of Armitage's mission as a whole. There have only been reports that the results of the trip

are now being thoroughly analyzed by the special interdepartmental group established as long ago as the summer of last year to "solve the Panama problem." For the present... the U.S. mass media are discussing the "Noriega military dictatorship," the need for "democracy," "the guarantee of freedom of choice," and so on and so forth. One could not really expect anything else because, however much the U.S. "free press" may try to deny it, it is in the service of the ruling American elite.

One thing clearly comes across through all the demagogy: The present Panamanian Government is causing Washington serious concern by its policy of independence and autonomy. On the shores of the Potomac these two words are causing unpleasant agitation because they relate to one thing only: the future of the Panama Canal and, therefore, the future of the American outpost in the whole of South America [as published]. CBS pointed out that "the visit by Armitage signifies a new drop in the level of relations with Panama and this will inevitably raise the question of the future of the Panama Canal." ABC expressed itself even more forcibly and unequivocally: "Panama is vitally important to American interests because of the canal and also because 10,000 servicemen in the U.S. southern command are stationed there. This base must remain safe and secure. And so Noriega must concede to American pressure."

These are the underlying reasons behind the unscrupulous campaign to discredit the Panamanian general. They become all the more apparent as the deadline for transferring or, to be more precise, returning to the Panamanian people full sovereignty over the canal and the adjacent region draws inexorably closer, a deadline established in the corresponding treaty which has been ratified by both sides.

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Others Visit Art Exhibition

PM141449 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Dynamic Image of the Time"]

[Text] The art exhibition "Land of the Soviets" has been on display at the Central Exhibition Hall for more than 2 and 1/2 months, but thousands of Muscovites and guests in the capital are still hurrying to the Manezh to see the works of artists from all the union republics. The image of the Land of the Soviets and of the people who made its glorious history and are continuing it today is depicted in paintings, tapestries, sculptures, and drawings by well known masters and young artists from different schools and trends.

On 13 January the exhibition was visited by Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, N.N. Slyunkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, P.N. Demichev, V.I. Dolgikh, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, A.P. Biryukova, A.F. Dobrynin, A.I. Lukyanov, and I.V. Kapitonov.

The scale of the exhibition is impressive. Some 2,500 works by almost 1,500 artists are on display. Most of them have a contemporary feel about them and one can sense the artistic intelligentsia's desire to achieve a more accurate, truthful, sincere interpretation of historical events connected with the Great October Revolution, important landmarks in the country's development, and the present life of socialist society.

A dynamic image of our country in its restructuring period could not, of course, find full expression so rapidly in paintings, sculptures, and drawings. But the diversity of the subject matter is the first sign of renewal on this important flank of our artistic front. It is as though painters, sculptors, and graphic artists give us a fresh image of Lenin and allow us to understand not only the greatness of his actions but also the depth of his thoughts and the force of his convictions. Profoundly philosophical works which address the eternal human values of good, truth, and justice are also being viewed with interest.

The exhibition is convincing evidence that our society offers limitless opportunities to reveal the spiritual potential of all peoples in our country and ensure that national schools of art flourish and enrich one another. It demonstrates the fruitfulness of socialist realism in art, a wealth of individual creative talent, and a diversity of genres, styles, and artistic quests.

Discussions of the exhibition have drawn attention to the need for a thoughtful attitude to shaping artists' ideological and aesthetic views. It has been emphasized that only sincere works filled with vital truth and distinguished by great artistic expression can actively contribute to solving the task of ensuring the revolutionary renewal of all aspects of socialist society's life.

Politburo Discusses Agriculture, Chernobyl

LD142209 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee: At a session held on 14 January, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee examined, in order to check on them, the issues of the fulfillment of party and government decisions taken earlier on the development of the agro-industrial complex of the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR. In the course of the discussion, in which first secretaries of oblast party committees took part, it was noted that the implementation of the planned measures is having a positive influence on the development of this important economic region of the country. Significant resources have been directed to the development and strengthening of the material and technical base and the social sphere. The slump in output of agricultural produce, which had occurred over a number of years, has been halted as a result.

At the same time, the Politburo considers that there has not been a fundamental turnabout in the development of agro-industrial production in the Non-Chernozem Zone. The agricultural sector in many oblasts and autonomous republics in the region are not ensuring stable development, and the considerable resources invested by the state and by kolkhozes are not yielding their due return. Particular alarm is prompted by the state of affairs in the farms of Vladimir, Ivanovo, Kalinin, Kirov, Kostroma, Ryazan, Smolensk, Yaroslavl, Novgorod, and Pskov Oblasts.

It was stressed that the further intensification of the role of the agro-industrial complex of the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR in the steady growth of the country's food stocks in a task of great political importance, concerning the state as a whole. Great attention was paid to the need to achieve, in the immediate future, supplies of basic food products to the population of this region through the region's own output. It was envisaged that the rate of social transformation of the countryside in the Non-Chernozem Zone should be increased, so as by 1995 to provide every rural family with a separate residential house with outbuildings and to have in rural centers of population an adequate number of schools and children's establishments as well as health, cultural, trade, and consumer facilities.

It was deemed necessary, beginning with this year, to implement a broad program of road construction, to step up the rate of gasification of villages, and to expand the use of electricity for production and domestic needs. It was planned to work out a comprehensive program for

the social and economic development of the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR from 1988-95 and for allocating capital investment and material and technical resources for its implementation as a matter of high priority. Measures were laid down for the further improvement of the management of the agro-industrial complex of the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR.

Progress in the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee decision of 14 July 1986 "On the Results of the Investigation into the Causes of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station and Measures To Eliminate Its Consequences and To Ensure the Safety of Nuclear Power" and of other party and government decisions on that matter was examined.

It was noted that a whole set of large-scale measures has been implemented along these lines in the period which has elapsed since the accident. A unique encasement for the destroyed power set has been built in a very short time. All three power sets which remain have been put into operation. Construction of the first phase of the new power workers' town, Slavutich, is being completed. Important questions related to improving the organizational and technical standard of nuclear power have been solved. A number of major government decisions have been taken on these problems.

The deactivation of towns and villages has been carried out in the areas which were subjected to radioactive pollution. Large-scale measures to protect the health of the population living there and to render them vital medical aid are being implemented. An all-union center for radiation medicine has begun its work. As a result of a large volume of deactivation work being carried out, the levels of radiation on the site of the power station and its premises have been reduced to dimensions which ensure the safety of work of service personnel. A detailed examination of people has shown that there is no sign of any deviation in the state of their health connected with radiation.

All the evacuated population has been provided with employment and accomodation at their new quarters. For this purpose over 21,000 individual houses and about 800 social and cultural amenities and public utilities have been built, and 15,000 apartments have been allocated. Compensation and benefits of various kinds amounting to over R900 million have been paid out. Direct expenditure on the elimination of the aftermath of the disaster amounted to about R4 billion, and taking into consideration the losses connected with the reduction in the volume of production output in these regions, and other expenses, the figure is about R8 billion.

The rapid fulfillment of the work to eliminate the aftermath of the disaster, which was unprecedented in its volume and technical complexity, became possible due to the high degree of patriotism and selflessness on the part of the workers, scientists, engineering and technical staff, office workers, and Soviet Army servicemen. Vivid testimony to Soviet people's sense of cohesion and collectivism was the fact that they passed on about R540 million to the Chernobyl fund.

The Politburo set out further tasks to eliminate the aftermath of the disaster and proposed to the USSR Ministry of Atomic Power Engineering and other ministries and departments that they concentrate their efforts on ensuring the complete safety of atomic power stations. It was emphasized in particular that the development of atomic power engineering in our country should be based on a qualitatively new technical foundation, absolutely reliable engineering and design decisions, and a high degree of technological discipline in collectives of atomic power stations. Important significance was focused on the need to step up work with cadres.

The Politburo approved the proposals which had been prepared in accordance with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) on the procedures for electing soviets of labor collectives and the holding of elections of managers of enterprises. It was noted that the holding of elections of soviets of labor collectives and managers should ensure that workers who possess professional competence, high moral-political qualities and who are capable of seeing that the interests of society, the collective and each individual worker are brought together are drawn toward production management.

The Politburo approved the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's conversation with Jakes, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The common approach of the CPSU and the CPCZ toward the main problems of socialist construction and their unity of views on fundamental issues of foreign policy were emphasized with satisfaction. New broad opportunities for the development of all-round Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation are opened up in connection with the policy of restructuring, democratization, and the acceleration of scientific-technical and social progress in both fraternal countries.

Certain other questions of the development of the Soviet economy and the implementation of our country's foreign-economic course were also discussed at the session of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

Yeltsin Starts New Job, Yakovlev on Holiday

AU141434 Paris AFP in English 1425 GMT 14 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, Jan 14 (AFP)—Boris Yeltsin, a former top associate of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, has started a new job in a supervisory committee in the construction sector after being fired as Moscow party chief last November, it was announced here Thursday.

Mr. Yeltsin, 56, who had reportedly been hospitalised with "cardiac problems" after his dismissal, has left hospital and has started his new duties as First Deputy

Chairman of the State Committee for Construction, carrying the rank of minister, said Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov.

"However, following doctors' advice, he has had to cut back his efforts and works only part-time," the spokesman told a press conference.

Mr. Gerasimov sidestepped a question whether Mr. Yeltsin was still active in the Politburo, the Soviet Union's highest decision-making body, in which he still, officially, holds the rank of alternate member.

Analysts expect him to be removed from the Politburo at the next plenum of the party's Central Committee.

Mr. Yeltsin was dismissed after he criticised the slow pace of reform, or "perestroyka," espoused by Mr. Gorbachev.

Meanwhile, a Soviet announcement said that another top Gorbachev supporter, Aleksandr Yakovlev, is "currently on holiday."

His absence from political life in recent weeks, which has become a subject of some speculation among Kremlin-watchers, "has no political significance," the announcement said.

West Trying To Gain Capital From Mentally Ill

LD141657 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1556 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan (TASS)—Is it permissible to gain capital out of the names of mentally ill people while at the same time pursuing dubious political aims? The answer to this question is obviously simple—but not for anti-Soviet propagandists who have been seriously alarmed by the processes of restructuring and democratization in Soviet society.

The provision recently ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and published in the Soviet press on conditions and order of rendering psychiatric help has aroused heightened attention among representatives of the Western mass information media. Some of them are trying to stir doubts in the effectiveness of this provision—in the provision which envisages broad legal guarantees from potential errors and forms of abuse. They are trying to smear and discredit work in this direction. The pretext that Western radio voices are using involves the name of a certain Lev Ubozhko who has been sent to a psychiatric hospital. They are making attempts to pass him off as another victim of Soviet psychiatry.

The certificate that our TASS correspondent has obtained from Gennadiy Milekhin, head of the department of scientific medical information of the "Serbskiy" All-Union Scientific Research Institute of General and Legal Psychiatry, convincingly exposes these methods of the West.

Lev Ubozhko, he said, has been under the observation of doctors in connection with a mental illness for more than 15 years now. He was recognized as an invalid of the second group [as received]. For the last time this person, on whose name Western radio voices are now speculating, was discharged from a psychiatric hospital in the summer of 1987 to his place of abode. At the present time, because of a worsening of the illness, he is once again having treatment. G. Milekhin said: "I talked to the doctors at the hospital where he is staying and who are treating him. They presented sufficiently convincing arguments, substantiating the need for hospitalization and the selection of methods of treatment. At the present time his condition is improving and at the end of the treatment he will be discharged."

The Soviet psychiatrist noted: Medical ethics forbid the divulging of names of mentally ill people and the more so the exploitation of them for political aims. This is not only inhumane but is also an encroachment on the rights of these people; it can have a negative effect on their condition; and it demoralizes patients and their relatives. G. Milekhin noted: "I am talking about Lev Ubozhko only because his name is being spread about in rumors in the West."

"I am not maintaining that everything is ideal in Soviet psychiatry. Mistakes occur with us too; one also comes across people who have used their position for criminal aims—about which, incidentally, the Soviet press has written on more than one occasion. The adopted regulation is aimed namely at the perfection of the organization of psychiatric help to the population with the observance of guarantees for protecting the rights and interests of the insane and also of their lawful representatives. Criminal responsibility is envisaged for medical workers for putting into a psychiatric clinic a person who is obviously healthy. Those who are speculating with the name of Ubozhko are trying to place in doubt the effectiveness of these regulations", the Soviet psychiatrist stressed.

OGONEK Editor Compares Gorbachev, Dubcek

AU151121 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 15 Jan 88 p 2

[Kurt Seinitz report: "Gorbachev's 'Spokesman' Praises Reforms of CSSR's Dubcek"]

[Text] Moscow—In Vienna Vitaliy Korotich (51), chief editor of the courageous Soviet reform magazine OGONEK (Little Flame), who is very close to Kremlin chief Gorbachev, openly commented on the events in the CSSR, the 20th anniversary of which will be commemorated over the next days, weeks, and months.

Gorbachev's "spokesman" sees similarities between the two Communist Party chiefs [Gorbachev and Dubcek]: "Both men realized that it is impossible to build a modern society without modern democracy. That means human rights, openness in all fields, etc." But the chief

editor also sees differences between the reform process in the CSSR in 1968 and the current reforms in the Soviet Union: "Gorbachev is at the head of the development, he controls the process. Dubcek lost control, pressure from below ran him over. In the CSSR the revolutionary process came from below, in the Soviet Union it comes from above. The CPSU chief is, so to speak, 'more revolutionary' than the masses. Gorbachev is a strong leader, Dubcek was a weak leader."

Brezhnev Doctrine Is Dead [subhead]

Can Vitaliy Korotich imagine that Gorbachev would carry out a military intervention in the East Bloc, as the Soviet Union did in the CSSR in 1968? Says the OGONEK chief editor: "Perestroyka exists not only in the Soviet Union but also in the relations with the East European countries. Today it is the view that each socialist (East European) country may develop in line with its own discretion. No country is to treat another like a little child."

Gorbachev's "spokesman" is referring to Poland, where the phenomenon of Solidarity could be called an "interesting experience" also for the Soviet Union, but which, above all, has had an influence on the modernization of Polish society.

Uzbek Use of Children in Cotton Harvest Scored

PM141155 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent V. Artemenko article under the rubric "Own Correspondent's Column": "Deception"]

[Text] Uzbek SSR—The senior pupils of the No 1 school of Kirovskiy Kishlak Soviet in Tashkent Oblast dropped by the PRAVDA correspondents' office:

"Why were our winter holidays reduced by 3 days this year too, why must we return to classes earlier than schoolchildren in the city? And our spring holidays are being reduced. In the summer our older comrades promised us loud and clear: From now on you will have normal studies and holidays like everyone else. Why didn't they keep their word?"

Yes, in August last year the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau came to a unanimous decision: Starting in 1987 schoolchildren would not be enlisted in the cotton harvest. All the newspapers wrote in the most prominent places: "Cotton harvest without schoolchildren!" This unraveled a whole knot of problems, the main one being that the children are getting the opportunity to study better, to master the syllabus fully, to study more at experimental sectors, and to acquire the fundamentals of agriculture and livestock raising.

But in the middle of November the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau adopted the resolution: To involve senior schoolchildren in the cotton harvest. And it gets worse. At the demand of the local party and soviet organs schoolchildren in the seventh grade in Kara-Kalpakia, and Khorezm, Andizhan, Kashka-Darya, Dzhizak, Navoi, Namangan, Tashkent, and Surkhan-Darya Oblasts were drafted in for the cotton harvesting, disrupting their studies.

In the great majority of the republic's rayons there were serious violations of living, catering, and working conditions. As a rule, the children were accommodated without observance of the elementary norms of sanitation, hygiene, and fire safety. Students in Farishskiy Rayon were put up in a stone storehouse at the "Pakhtakor" Sovkhoz whose walls and doors contained huge holes through which all the dust and debris from the cotton cleaning blew into the drinking water and the food.

Many children fell ill in the fields, and others when they returned home. The republic's prosecutor informed the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee of the violations of legality connected with the enlistment of schoolchildren in the cotton harvesting. But this memorandum has still not been examined.

Why did senior officials break their word? There are enough able-bodied adults at the disposal of the republic's agro-industrial complex. But by no means all of them worked on the harvest. It is no secret that on many farms the men have loaded the concerns of field operations onto women, teenagers, and even elderly people. Every fall these same men spend their working hours at the bazaars, or at family festivities, repairing their own houses, and cultivating their own plots. Yes, it is very easy to send schoolchildren off to the cotton harvest: Instructions were given to the public education departments—and the children were loaded in buses. But mobilizing adults in the localities requires a certain amount of work. And the party and soviet organs do not wish to tackle this.

It is painful to talk about the consequences. The Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Research Institute of Philosophy and Law has conducted sociological research.

"It turns out that our schoolchildren are studying not for 10 years but for 7 to 8 years," T. Saidbayev, the institute's director, said. "The leavers are only semi-educated. Often young people do not know Russian, and cannot read fluently or write grammatically in their own language. Draftees are poorly prepared for military service."

And what about the moral damage? In order for people to believe in the possibility of cardinal changes in our life, everyone should be able to fulfill their promises. By its November decision the republic's Communist Party Central Committee has undermined this trust.

Georgian Communist Party Plenum Ends

LD141722 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Today the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum ended. It discussed the Central Committee office report on the work of guiding the restructuring. There was also a discussion of the republican party organization tasks in perfecting its organizational and political activity. In the speeches by Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and other speakers, it was noted that economic restructuring was not going at the right pace. Specific proposals were made for perfecting organizational and ideological work to deepen democracy and glasnost.

Efforts To Cut Rural Unemployment Reported

PM131301 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by own correspondent A. Kazikhanov under the "Cadre Question" rubric: "People Look for Work While Jobs Are Vacant"]

[Text] To the gratification of unscrupulous Western "well-wishers" I can report that there are "unemployed" people in the North Caucasus. Some 170,000 in the Dagestan ASSR, 121,000 in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, and 2,000-3,000 in the North Osetian and Kabardino-Balkar ASSR's. I do not know whether they would all like to work, but they certainly could.

You thus have the equivalent of an entire city of 300,000 people without work, while sovkhozes and Gosagroprom enterprises in the Dagestan ASSR are 17% understaffed, in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR 5.5% understaffed, and in the North Osetian and Kabardino-Balkar ASSR's 7-8% understaffed.

The figures are right up to date—they were announced at the recent regional conference on improving manpower utilization. But the problem itself is, unfortunately, an old one. The resettlement of jobless highlanders on the plain began back in the forties and fifties in Dagestan. Sixty-five new population centers appeared.

The construction of new industrial enterprises began in the North Caucasus around 20 years ago and in the last 5-year plan alone more than 100 branches of factories and plants were built. Highway construction, processing of agricultural products, and outworking make it possible to involve tens of thousands in social production. Population growth, however, is outpacing the number of jobs, and it is a question of a population that is virtually totally unamenable to migration. And the fact that there is an acute manpower shortage in Kalinin Oblast has not until recently been of any interest to the inhabitants of the North Caucasus.

But, as L. Ostrenko, chairman of the Kalinin Oblast Planning Commission told the conference, a stream of requests from union ministries and departments to take new production units is flowing into the oblast. But his colleague R. Abakarov, chairman of the Dagestan Gosplan, said the exact opposite: "In the last 2 years the construction of 44 production facilities has been proposed, but work is under way on only 32. The ministries do not respond to our requests that the volume of production at existing enterprises be increased. Meanwhile our equipment shift index is only 1.33."

No matter how you look at the problem, two basic features stand out. First, everything that is being done to solve the problem is being done as a stopgap, so to speak, with people doing what they can rather than what is really needed. Given this, scarcely anyone would venture to say that the problem will vanish in so many years. Second, it is being tackled in a piecemeal rather than a comprehensive way, without taking account of neighbors' experience and often even local experience.

For example, when ministries receive requests to increase the volume of production, they reply that there is a lack of raw materials. At the same time they attempt to construct new enterprises of the same type. In the Chechen-Ingush ASSR villages of Novyy Redant, Komsomolskoye, and Kantyshevo there are completed shops standing empty because the RSFSR Ministry of Local Industry and Ministry of Light Industry cannot find equipment for them.

And if it is found, it is possible that another problem will arise. As soon as the question of employment in the region was seriously studied, it became clear that 60-70% of the jobless were women. Most of them have children. They are not averse to working, but only in their own village—they won't travel to a neighboring one.

If women are to be attracted to work, you need not just shops but kindergartens, creches, and canteens. The main thing is that women, former highlanders, adolescents, and all those wishing to work must be trained. In the four republics there are now 87 vocational and technical colleges, where a total of 52,000 people are studying. There are also some young people who learn a trade outside the region. But these are all young people; where do adults acquire a trade? What vocational and technical college will accept people over 30?

Small wonder then that industrial enterprises fail to meet their recruitment targets and do not even fill their vacancies. For example, the Makhachkalinskiy instrument-making plant, which should have hired another 500 workers, has taken on just 13. The Ordzhonikidzevskaya footwear factory has reached only 63% of its capacity after 4 years of existence. The work force there is 205 people below strength and they are unable to recruit anyone.

In short, it is obvious that a comprehensive program is required if this problem is to be fully solved in the North Caucasus. Here the experience of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, which IZVESTIYA reported briefly last September, must be taken into account.

I would remind readers that this involved a joint decision by the Chechen-Ingush ASSR Council of Ministers and the Omsk Oblispolkom whereby former private operators from the southern republic working on construction sites in Siberia acquired the status of fully-fledged construction teams. Omsk now sends a complete list of projects on its kolkhozes and sovkhozes to the autonomous republic and teams are then formed there according to a roster of those wishing to take part in seasonal work.

The first result is that 292 teams from the Chechen-Ingush ASSR worked on 500 Omsk projects last year, and work worth R50 million was carried out. Twice as many teams will go to the oblast this year.

The Chechen-Ingush ASSR is also organizing cooperation with Kalinin Oblast. The idea came from Candidate of Economic Sciences Kh. Bibulatov, first secretary of the Nozhay-Yurtovskiy party raykom. "Why not conclude a contract to lease fallow land," he suggested, "and set up branches of Nozhay-Yurtovskiy kolkhozes on it? The idea was supported at the party obkom, the republic Council of Ministers, and the RSFSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. The Nozhay-Yurtovskiy workers went to their rayon—Molokovskiy Rayon—in the summer. The picture was that there were only 82 able-bodied people in 23 population centers, while 7 villages were completely empty... The "Put k Kommunizmu" Kolkhoz leased from the "Dobrovolets" Sovkhoz in Kalinin Oblast part of its land and purchased equipment and other fixed capital at residual cost. The lessees assumed the farm's debts. It was agreed that planned crop and milk yields be credited to the oblast while above-plan ones be credited to the Chechen-Ingush ASSR.

The experiment has only just started and I hope to talk about the first results in more detail in the spring.

RSFSR To Combat 'Petty Pilfering'

LD130056 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 12 Jan 88

[Text] Of late, glasnost, which is becoming the norm of our everyday life, has once again highlighted the problem of pilferers. This is being written about with increasing frequency in the press, and yesterday the question of the safekeeping of socialist property was put forward for discussion at the presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. Expressions which were used most frequently in this discussion were alarm, where are we heading?, etc. It is quite possible that in your assessments of the situation, comrades, harsher words might spring to mind. Judge for yourselves: In 1986 at enterprises of the food and meat and dairy industry of the RSFSR Agroprom the losses from theft amounted to over R4 million. In the first half of last year, compared with the same period in 1986, the number of thefts increased in enterprises of the dairy industry by almost 44%; in the meat industry they doubled.

Shortfalls and theft on a large scale have been discovered in Altay, Krasnoday, and Stavropol Krays; in Gorkiy, Kemerovo, Lipetsk, Novosibirsk and a number of other oblasts; and also in Moscow and Leningrad. In spot checks organized by the RSFSR Committees of People's Control last September at 1,347 enterprises of the republic's Gosagroprom, 1,808 people were detained with stolen products to a value of R22,000. Over 3 tonnes of meat products were confiscated. Almost 9,000 people were brought to account for various types of theft.

If in assessing these facts we remember that all of these acts of pilfering and theft are from our common table—and this is indeed the case—then we can hardly avoid severe expressions. If some goods already in short supply are stolen somewhere, that means there will not be any for us.

What are the reasons for these acts which harm all of us? The main reason, however strange this may seem, is habit. Practice shows that at the majority of enterprises of processing industry of the agro-industrial sector, petty pilfering is ignored. It is not considered theft. The second reason is the absence of scientifically based norms of output of products from the raw material inputs. In particular this concerns meat combines and factories. Confirmation of this is the fact that even where there is systematic theft the same enterprises report tonnes of raw material and finished products which have been saved. Theft is also facilitated by the unscrupulousness of many heads of enterprises—over 2,000 of them have been sentenced in 18 months—by poor security, and by the absence of the necessary instruments. For example, the fat content measurer which is used at enterprises of the dairy industry came into use in the 19th century; using this today, one can save up to 3kg of butter from every tonne of milk. All of this has created favorable conditions for large-scale and especially for petty thefts which, as was noted at the Presidium, have become a major evil of our life.

The Presidium has decided to elaborate a special-purpose program to combat pilferers. The main components of this program will be checking and safekeeping, improving work with the cadres, introducing material incentives for workers to be thrifty with raw materials and to increase output of finished products. Putting matters into order will be facilitated by the introduction of the mechanized packaging of output. The presidium also spoke of the need to organize a system of direct sales to an enterprise's staff of the output which they produce.

These measures will undoubtedly produce results, but there will probably not be a decisive turnaround here if the first reason we spoke about is not removed: the habit of considering petty pilfering unavoidable. As the facts show, petty pilfering is a great evil. The struggle against it is the concern of all of us.

Police Official Dismissed for Supervision Error
PM130831 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Jan 88 First Edition p 2

["Response To Criticism" by Yu. Zhurkin, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs: "'Line Of Fire'"]

[Text] The article "Line of Fire" correctly pointed out serious shortcomings in the Chita Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration's official activity and work with cadres.

The study of the circumstances of a murder committed by Gerasimov, a worker in the Chita Central Rayon Internal Affairs Department Criminal Investigation Department, has shown that the internal affairs administration leadership and Comrade V.A. Skubko, chief of the administration, personally were aware of the instances of Gerasimov's incorrect behavior in domestic life, his unbusinesslike ties with the previously convicted Plavskiy, and his violations of socialist legality. The measures adopted did not accord with the degree of Gerasimov's guilt. Thus an atmosphere of indulgence was created which was one of the reasons for his committing the crime. The desire to evade responsibility and avoid making a principled assessment of the emergent situation engendered distorted information in the USSR MVD. A lack of principle and objectivity were permitted also with regard to other workers, those mentioned in the article included.

Comrade Yu.F. Kasyanov, deputy chief of the internal affairs cadre department, has been dismissed from the internal affairs organs for violating party principles in cadre selection and placement and Comrade A.Ye. Shanturov, chief of the political department, has been relieved of his post. They have both been made strictly accountable by the party.

The shortcomings in the work of the Chita Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Department have been examined at the USSR MVD Collegium. V.A. Skubko has been relieved of his post as deputy chief of the USSR MVD Main Administration for the Maintenance of Public Order for serious shortcomings in work with the cadres in the Chita Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration, for failure to adopt the requisite measures to strengthen official discipline and eradicate violations of socialist legality.

Kalinin Obkom's Tatarchuk Awarded Order of Lenin
PM131007 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Award of the Order of Lenin to Comrade N.F. Tatarchuk"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The Order of Lenin is awarded to Comrade Nikolay Fedorovich Tatarchuk, first secretary of the Kalinin CPSU Obkom, in recognition of services to the Communist Party and the Soviet state and on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Moscow, the Kremlin, 8 January 1988.

Readers' Letters Expose Restructuring Opponents
PM131421 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Review of readers' letters by Yuriy Orlik, IZVESTIYA deputy editor for the letters department, under the rubric "Perusing the Mail": "We Will Overcome"]

[Text] The number of letters about restructuring is not diminishing. People's hopes are concentrated in this word. There are plenty of signs of the innovations in our life. "Old stereotypes are being discarded, history is being reexamined, truth is being resurrected, new people are arriving, and with them also new thinking," V. Kulebyaka writes from Nizhniy Tagil. "Our time is forcing us all to shake off the dust of stagnation," Muscovite V. Matveyenko writes. "In the past we were afraid to say anything that ran counter the leadership's opinion. Glasnost is an unquestionable gain and a weapon of restructuring." A. Veksler from Vorkuta draws attention to the "breadth and uniqueness of the economic reform and the democratization process."

At the same time people are reporting that resistance to the changes is great.

"I am an ordinary worker. I work as a crusher-loader at the Kuznetsk V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Combine. In the past decades we have become thoroughly bogged down in the mire of indifference, window-dressing, deception, and irresponsibility. We are now trying to find our way out of this mire. But it is too soon to rejoice." (N. Maksimov, Novokuznetsk, Kemerovo Oblast).

Quite right, it is too soon. Restructuring has proved much more complex than we first thought. The legacy of the past is a heavy burden. Furthermore, at this precise moment the country has entered the stage of practical implementation of a broad program of reforms. Even

yesterday it was still possible to be an enthusiastic supporter (or critic) on the sidelines. Today, whether we like it or not, restructuring concerns us all. Changing the social climate in the country, opening up new vistas for the economy, restructuring has arrived at people's working places, it is knocking on ministerial doors, and it is affecting both the state and family budgets. It has removed (or is threatening to remove) some people from cozy niches, it has meant curbs for some, and wage cuts for others. It is not easy.

Today both restructuring and we ourselves are being put to the test.

"The gulf between what we want and what we actually have is still great," V. Gonchar writes from Bucha settlement in Kiev Oblast. "However, we must not be intimidated by this. In such a (vast and stratified) state as ours, with old and quite recent scars caused by distortions of the law and violations of moral norms, only naive people can expect a magic solution of the problems—once and for all, as it were!" "Restructuring is indeed a complex and difficult process," notes A. Dyachkov, a worker from Kerch. "Those who sought to destroy the system and surrounded themselves with a wall of hypocrisy will not give up without a fight. But we will not retreat either... Unfortunately, there are many articles in the press which reflect disillusionment. We would also like to see some strong champions of restructuring." We will return to this thought later. Meanwhile, let us, on the basis of readers' letters, try to form a picture as to who and what is hampering restructuring.

"It is the management mechanism which has gone wrong," is the reply of I. Merinov, a worker from Yessentuki. "Centralized management of enterprises produces results only in extreme conditions. The command system and excessive regulation are harmful now. But they persist. Just take a look at the difficulties which accompany the establishment of cooperatives, the family contract, and individual labor activity."

I. Vaynshten and A. Mukoseyev from the Kesova Gora settlement in Kalinin Oblast describe the orthodox and clearly obsolete model of our economy as follows: "Fitful production which reflects the present state of planning and material and technical supply; a disproportionately inflated bureaucratic apparatus which is out of step with the demands of the scientfic and technical revolution and in general costs the state a pretty penny; subjectivism and depersonalization in the distribution of social benefits, and 'jacking up' of pay, which has a corrupting effect on susceptible workers. Can you imagine how difficult it is to overcome all this? Can you imagine what task we have taken on? But we must solve it. Our honor depends on it."

"The main problem with restructuring is that for many years we have been accepting wages rather than earning them," writes A. Pankov, chief of the "Sverdlovskgorstroy" construction laboratory (a CPSU member, aged 42). "We are also very good at pleading objective difficulties instead of ensuring proper organization of the labor of workers, engineering and technical staff, and office employees.

V. Gonchar, whom we have cited earlier, sees the main cause of our difficulties in the fact that "the lethargic sleep of labor collectives has been carefully protected for a long time. Even now some people are afraid that they might wake up to social activity." He writes further: "There is not enough ferment to get collectives going. Social organizations are too passive, they are finding it difficult to rid themselves of formalism and they keep looking over their shoulder at the bosses."

In the political sphere, readers describe bureaucracy—"the sickness of the establishment"—as the number one enemy of restructuring.

"The working class is wholeheartedly in favor of restructuring," F. Vaseyko writes from Dnepropetrovsk. "Meanwhile some leaders are merely paying lip service to the changes in their speeches while opposing them in practice since their lives are quite comfortable even without restructuring." "The alliance of bureaucrats at various levels of social life presents a particular danger to restructuring," claims K. Magafurov from the Bashkir ASSR. "Are the bureaucrats really invincible?"—asks V. Litskevich from Brest. "Do we really need such a cumbersome management system? After all, someone should be doing the work... Furthermore they behave more like bosses than servants. It is not they who serve the people but the people who serve them. Such people will feign agreement, applaude, or criticize, but they will not change anything."

People often write that "the further away from the center, the less is happening" (S. Silkin, Chimkent). "Good words are heard coming out of Moscow," R. Kengeli writes from Minsk, "but what is happening locally frequently belies the words about democratization, glasnost, and justice."

A. Nakhayev from Dimitrovgrad, Ulyanovsk Oblast, proposes "to resolutely put an end to the sway held in our administrative and management apparatus by people who have risen during the period of stagnation." "It is not merely a question of replacing a bad leader with a good leader," K. Chekmenev from Alma-Ata argues, "although that too is very important (as we in Kazakhstan have seen). It is necessary to create such a democratic and open system of the promotion of cadres as would prevent villains from becoming leaders."

T. Makarov from Sevastopol has this to say on the subject: "Only competent people who do not think in stereotypes should become leaders. What is needed is a rotation of leading cadres."

"Openness, glasnost, and the development of self-management—this is the essence of restructuring. What we are going through is a return to normal social and human relations. Restructuring is the triumph of common sense. It depends on us, rather than 'someone somewhere' how soon this will happen," writes V. Korchagin, deputy of Petushki City Soviet, Vladimir Oblast.

Reflecting on the pace of restructuring, Yu. Karbovskiy, an engineer from Ternopol, speaks of opposition to social change on the part of "certain categories of people." He suggests that they could be classified as follows: First, there are "the indifferent, the indolent who live according to the principle: 'none of this concerns me,' 'we have survived up to now, we will survive restructuring too.' These people are characterized by a categorical rejection of all change and a rigid conservatism. They are people who have become used to receiving all kind of benefits by dint of their office rather than labor." Second, there are "the people who are aware that something must be done but who are afraid of real changes because they understand that they themselves will have to go. They are convinced that people can be deceived by cosmetic reforms, demagoguery, and a display of concern for 'people's needs.' They believe that a multitude of 'half-measures' can be presented as revolutionary renewal..." Third, there are "the overt enemies of restructuring. They believe that the country is heading for chaos. They are demanding that order be established with an iron fist. They recall the age of Stalin. These people—they belong mainly to the older generation—reflect an unreadiness of social consciousness for glasnost and the exposure of scandalous misdeeds."

You may disagree with the suggested classification, you may want to draw the dividing lines elsewhere, or you may reject it altogether on the basis of insufficiently clear criteria. But the author's explanation of why he drew it up is important. "The sooner we recognize the enemies of change, and the more we know about them, the sooner we will defeat them," Yu. Karbovskiy writes. He adds: "I myself belong to the radically minded Soviet intelligentsia. I am wholeheartedly in favor of restructuring, it is what I work and live for. And there are many people like me."

Reading the numerous reactions to the letter of Yu. Tkalenko, a fitter from Dnepropetrovsk—"Someone Has Got To Say What Is Happening" (IZVESTIYA No 326, 1987)—you can see for yourself that restructuring has reliable support and reliable champions. The bold, uncompromising man "striving for honesty in everything" has evoked universal sympathies, and many readers—fully in line with the spirit of the times—have suggested not only that Yu. Tkalenko be reinstated at the plant but also that he be "nominated as a candidate for the leadership" (A. Altufyev, Karaganda). At the same time, with reference to Yu. Tkalenko's fate and citing their own experiences, readers describe the difficulties that are sometimes encountered by the pioneers of the "great labor of restructuring." "In these conflicts the whole drama of our time is reflected," L. Adabashyan from Kirovabad writes. "We must prevent reprisals against honest people," V. Ilyushchenko from Krivoy Rog insists. "We must not allow people to be punished for the truth, because they have state interests at heart. The government must protect such people, and the newspapers must write about them more often."

I would like to end this review by taking note on behalf of my colleagues of this reader's social behest.

Local Paper Chided for Travelers' Poll

PM121631 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[V. Yegorov article under the rubric "As Colleague to Colleague": "Gypsy Girl Refused to Tell Fortunes"]

[Text] Oh, this public opinion! Everything used to be clear regarding it, because it coincided to a T with the opinion of a single specific person. But now that we have democracy and glasnost, how can we get to the bottom of what people are thinking?

Very simply. You have to board the Moscow-Vladivostok train, wait for the rear car to cross the city line, lay out a boiled chicken on the compartment table, and set up a bottle of kefir, and then the "feeling of hunger" "imprinted in the genes" of your fellow travelers will make them "talk openly." Only look sharp, get out a stock of 100 questionnaires with questions on today's most burning problems, and, while those being questioned are pondering whether they are enthusiasts for or sympathizers with restructuring and how self-financing will affect them, look out of the window and note down signs of swift-flowing life.

This is just what a MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI reporter did, and as a result the first issue carried a really nice little report with the allusive title "People Talking in 'Rossiya.'" The action, so to speak, takes place on a Pullman express, but someone quick on the uptake will realize that the same talk takes place in the republic of the same name and the percentage of enthusiasts is correspondingly the same.

You will not deceive the present-day reader with chaff. Therefore, the first thing you must do is not avoid the sharpest corners in conversation, be no respecter of persons, convince people not with maxims but with percentages, and, of course, unobtrusively let drop two or three little details that will prove to any skeptic that you really traveled in our longest-distance train and did not overhear all these monologues and dialogues in the "Legalized Robbers" cooperative cafe (a combination of words borrowed from the reportage—V.Ye.).

Well, the details are an easy matter. First, the heroes of the report wear jogging suits, and it is at once clear that the action takes place on a train. The external signs, so to

speak, are even easier. A single sentence suffices: "Cities pass by in a kaleidoscope of lights, littered platforms, and always angry porters." That is precisely the Trans-Siberian Railroad!

As we already know, it is best of all to get fellow passengers talking over a bottle of kefir. Then they will point out all the sharp corners to you and tell you a lot of home truths. Here is a pensioner-petitioner resolutely exposing irregularities but meeting with no support on the spot. However, he is not despondent because "times have changed!" Here is a single mother employed at an agro-industrial association worried that staff reductions will force her to move from Moldavia as far as Krasnoyarsk. Here is a "respectable, stolid, thorough man, obviously a boss," who was "found traveling in the sleeping car" and convincingly proved to the journalist that the workers have now "awoken and remembered they are the progressive class." So very progressive! Just imagine, at a general meeting in a shop, when the question of staff reductions was being discussed, they demanded that a few more jobs be cut, and among themselves, moreover. Previously people had been coming out increasingly against swollen administrative and managerial staffs. Is this not restructuring!

But probably everyone was outdone by one of the "sportsmen"—those wearing jogging suits. His train story deserves to be cited in its entirety:

"'At the end of the year a bonus—five monthly wages—was allotted to our shop for the fulfillment of urgent assignments,' he plunged head on into the topic of democracy. 'Our boss quietly appropriated all the money. Some time ago, this could have worked without a hitch. But yesterday, we put him straight at the shop meeting, and I'm sure he will never again take a kopek without consulting people.'"

Some people might not believe that even "some time ago" it was a mere bagatelle for a shop chief to quietly appropriate five monthly wages (whose, incidentally?), so please address complaints not to the journalist but to Vladimir Semenov, section chief at a Tyumen combine. True, the reporter did not manage to find out what kind of combine it is, but, on the other hand, we do know his first name and surname, whereas all the other fellow travelers remained nameless—the single mother, the truth-loving pensioner, the man with eyeglasses on his big nose, and the passenger with pale eyes (although the latter did not introduce himself for understandable reasons—"there was a tunic with lieutenant colonel's insignia hanging in his compartment"). But the events described in the reportage take place "at our plant in Kirov," "in parts known to the whole world as having produced a breed of cows with the highest milk yields" but where "difficulties with meat and milk" are observed, in a rayon center in Novosibirsk Oblast (incidentally, there are 30 rayons there), and, finally, simply on the "ribbon along the railroad."

I feel professional envy for the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI reporter—he was lucky with his fellow travelers, particularly with the gypsy girl Elvira. For his publication is designed for the foreign reader, who, excuse me, cannot picture Russia without a gypsy, even if she is within quotation marks. How fortunate that it was not a Zemfira but precisely an Elvira who came along. Of course, "that reader" would also have "swallowed" a Zemfira, but our own reader might have had doubts. But here, what doubts, a typical Soviet gypsy girl: She does not know how to tell fortunes, she wants her son to become a doctor, and she wears "a necklace of old tsarist medals." It has to be understood that during the time of stagnation gypsy girls made ever increasing use of silver coins for necklaces, whereas now, with increasing prosperity, they have switched to medals. A little later St. George's crosses will become the fashion with them...

But still it is a pity the gypsy girl refused to tell the smart reporter's fortune. See, she would have suggested to him:

"Oh, restructuring is a serious thing, my dear. For people it means hope, and thought, and concern for its future. Since you have taken to discoursing on this complex subject, then at least treat the matter responsibly and the reader with respect. Particularly as you represent a newspaper which has repeatedly attracted his attention with really sharp, profound materials. I do not know just what you reckoned on finding by boarding the 'Rossiya' express, but, excuse me, you have found a can of worms on the ribbon along the railroad."

Moscow Paper Deplores Honoring of Past Leaders

PM141415 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jan 88 p 3

[Lev Kolodnyy article: "Hello, Cheremushki!"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] As readers already know, the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers have upheld the proposal from working people to restore the name of Moscow's Cheremushkinskiy Rayon and abolish the name of L.I. Brezhnev Square in our city. The report was published on the front page of today's MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA. We offer our journalist's notes for readers' attention.

Although it is not so long since the decision was taken to rename Cheremushkinskiy Rayon Brezhnevskiy Rayon, it is now hard to establish just why this territory was so honored. [passage omitted]

Cheremushki's appearance is linked with the name of N.S. Khrushchev, who, in his lofty post of party leader, showed daily concern with the affairs of the city where he started work and headed the raykom and the capital's party organization... Veteran architects recount that it

was he who insisted on the construction of five-story standard apartment blocks, determined the number of floors, the height of the ceilings, and the size of the rooms, apartments, kitchens, bathrooms, and laundries, and it was thanks to his efforts that the slow construction was transformed into rapid installation...

N.S. Khrushchev loved construction. Thanks to him Moscow has not only the southwest region and Cheremushki, but other areas covered with squat apartment blocks that look slightly faded alongside new-generation standard blocks. Colloquially, Muscovites call the five-story blocks "Khrushchovels"—they will have to be modernized in the very near future.

However, N.S. Khrushchev's name is also linked with the appearance of many unique buildings: the Palace of Congresses, the Luzhniki Stadium, Kalinin Prospekt, the Ostankino TV Tower, the Moscow Beltway... GUM, the Manezh, and the Prague Hotel were also opened under Khrushchev.

What in the capital is linked with the name of L.I. Brezhnev? It was he who from a lofty rostrum called for Moscow to be turned into a model communist city. But these words—though oft repeated—did little to please Muscovites. Before their very eyes the number of people living in old Moscow fell by two-thirds, their houses were demolished or handed over to various institutes. Ministries and departments mounted a massive offensive against the city, covering the best sites with plants and institutes and, in order for them to function, annually bringing in under the notorious quota system tens of thousands of workers who displaced native Muscovites on the housing list.

As a rule, administrative buildings were the only thing to be built in historic Moscow. The things that make up the capital's soul—theaters, museums, exhibition centers, palaces, cultural and leisure centers, and hotels—were rarely built. And when work was started, it took decades—as was the case, for instance, with the gallery on the Krymskaya Embankment, which needed urgent repairs soon after opening... Moscow started needing the most basic things, lacking funds for hospitals, the subway, and roads, and short of the manpower to restore historic and cultural monuments... The only spate of construction in the capital in the seventies was associated with the Olympics. [passage omitted]

There is no longer a Brezhnevskiy Rayon. It is now Cheremushkinskiy Rayon.

There is no longer a square with a name unprecedented in Moscow's history—not only the given name and surname, but the patronymic too. Just what will bureaucrats caught up in the joys of administration not think of for the sake of flattery....

There is no longer a Leonid Ilich Brezhnev Square. This was the name given to the area between the intersection of Profsoyuznaya and Garibaldi Streets, which Muscovites did not see as being a square and did not call a square... Anyway, how could people utter such a servile name? This is yet another example of the ostentation so prized in his declining years by him for whom the nonexistent square was named.

Thus yet another step forward has been taken on the road of restoring trampled justice. During L.I. Brezhnev's life no monuments to him were erected and no cities renamed in his honor—people did not get around to it. But even without bronze statues the L.I. Brezhnev cult grew rapidly on the ruins of the cult of I.V. Stalin. Everyone can remember the innumerable award ceremonies for special services rendered (were they really?) at the front by one of the generals in the last war and a participant in the Victory Parade, who could not have dreamed back in 1945 of the Order of Victory, the title of marshal, and the heroic combat stars—of which he would receive more in peacetime than Marshal Zhukov or the first cosmonaut.

Brezhnevskiy Rayon was a posthumous addition to the cult. This addition is no more.

But how many such undeserved additions remain around us! We recall another marshal—Klim Voroshilov, whose name is borne by another region in Moscow. Before the war people sang songs about him as a friend of Iosif Stalin, and in a well-known picture an artist depicted them standing together in the Kremlin. In the civil war years the former Lugansk fitter, who had fought bravely at the fronts, became an army commander and then a commander of military districts. But as the years passed this man was reborn. For 15 years he stood at the head of the Armed Forces of a great country because his friend so desired, and for 15 years his cult as an invincible military leader was promoted.

The 1940 war with Finland showed that we did not have such a military leader. Just 3 years before the war People's Commissar for Defense K.Ye. Voroshilov allowed real military leaders, their deputies, commanders of military districts, corps commanders, division commanders, and those whom he had known for dozens of years as comrades in arms and subordinates to be tried and executed. A great deal of damage, which ultimately had a tragic effect on the course of the first phase of the war, was done to military cadres.

K.Ye. Voroshilov was the author of the notorious work "Stalin and the Red Army" (1929), which became one of the cornerstones of his long-standing friend's personality cult by striking from the people's memory the names of those who had really founded the Red Army and its first commanders in chief and military leaders who defeated the heavily armed white armies on the fronts of the civil war...

We remember how the troops on the Northwest Salient lead by Marshal K.Ye Voroshilov, almost lost Leningrad. It was only when the people's commissar was replaced by General G.K. Zhukov that the situation was salvaged.

Why was a region of Moscow named for him?

Another part of the city is Kalininskiy Rayon. In Moscow the name of Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin is borne, in all, by a prospekt, a subway station, and eight plants and factories (they take up a whole column in the phonebook).

The "all-union elder," who headed the country's highest legislative organs of power for almost 30 years, did a great deal for the people. But if we are objective, he turned a blind eye to the illegality happening right in front of him. We recently saw the publication of a hitherto unknown letter from Mikhail Sholokhov calling in 1930 for M.I. Kalinin to be "put under the microscope" as the person to blame for the lawlessness that befell the peasants during the grain procurements on the Don: All their grain and livestock were appropriated and they were condemned to starvation and death. During those tragic days for the motherland the smiling "all-union elder"—himself a former peasant—refused to read the letters coming in to his office from the destitute who turned to him for help, or from those who had been repressed and saw him as their last hope.

You cannot strip a song of its words. Nobody is calling for the names of L.I. Brezhnev, K.Ye. Voroshilov, and M.I. Kalinin to be forgotten or removed from the walls of the houses where they lived and worked—they did work that deserves to be remembered. We should not repeat previous errors and efface the names of statesmen from the pages of history.

But is it really right to honor them posthumously on such a scale as we do now, giving their names to rayons, cities, streets, squares, plants, and factories with which they were never connected?

So Cheremushkinskiy Rayon has taken its place with Ostozhenka, the Khamovnicheskiy Ramparts, and the "Red Gates." ...Other rayons can be seen behind it, waiting for their turn....

Thirties Verdicts Quashed for 'Absence of Crime'

PM121111 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 1, 3 Jan 88 p 13

[Yuriy Feofanov article: "The Daughters of Arbat"]

[Excerpts] This legal act took two-three minutes. Robert Tikhomirnov, Chairman of the Criminal Court Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court, briefly reported the question. Everyone grew silent all of a sudden and then raised their hands at once: the protest of the USSR Procurator General was satisfied unanimously. The rehabilitation was held without any discussion—each Supreme Court member had a paper in front of him and, generally speaking, there was nothing to discuss. The preliminary research work was done beforehand; as a rule there is no subject for legal argument, and it is not in the rules of the supreme legal organ to talk for the sake of talking.

The protest was against the case of Yelena Rukhimovich, Tamara Medvedeva, Nina Oppokova-Lomova, Tatyana Smilga-Poluyan, and Natalya Krestinskaya. All five of them were convicted by the Special Council attached to the USSR NKVD on November 17, 1939, according to Article 58 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR for counter-revolutionary activities and setting up an anti-Soviet group. [passage omitted]

The question arises why they were rehabilitated only now. They were actually rehabilitated back in 1955. But the rehabilitation formula then read: "Through lack of proof of guilt." This formula signifies that a person is not guilty, that he or she is completely rehabilitated. But there is a moral taint—"it wasn't proved".

On December 24, 1987, the Plenary Meeting of the Supreme Court changed the formula to "through absence of a crime".

The same plenary meeting also considered another "special case"—that of Grigoriy Tsvetkov, Maria Dorfman-Tsvetkova and Abram Dorfman. The former two were economists and the latter—a book-keeper at a Leningrad plant. They occupied modest jobs and weren't well known. They were charged with preparing, as members of the Trotskiyite-Zinovyevite terrorist organization, an assassination attempt, with the aid of Gestapo agents, on Stalin and other leaders. On October 11, 1936, they were sentenced to be shot, and were shot the same day.

But this is another story, one out of many.

The plenary meetings of the USSR Supreme Court regularly rehabilitate people, restore the good names of the dead, and return to kith and kin that which can be returned—the bright memory.

Stalin Blamed for 'Excessive Centralism'

PM111547 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 52, 27 Dec 87 p 8

[Albert Nenarokov article: "At The End of 1922..."]

[Text] Today no one is surprised at the proposal to consider the day of the creation of the USSR a national holiday, yet in the beginning it was not carried into effect. The jubilee of the Congress of Soviets, at which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was proclaimed, was first marked only 15 years later—in December 1937, when the first jubilee article appeared in the newspaper PRAVDA.

Why? By that time practically everyone who had taken an active part in the establishment of a multinational Soviet state had passed away and could no longer raise any objections to various kinds of strained interpretations of this occasion. By about 1937, the scheme of the history and stages of national construction in our country, not very authentic but fairly elegant, had been completed. Emphasis was placed on the originally thought-out and planned nature of the line pursued by Stalin and the fidelity of his course to Lenin's principles.

However, if one takes a close look at the aspects of the political struggle in the early 1920s, one can see that the positions of Lenin and Stalin were markedly different on the questions of national state construction. In deciding the problem of uniting the Soviet Republics which existed by that time on the territory of the former Russian Empire, Lenin persistently, and with much conviction, championed their independence and sovereignty. Any violation of these fundamental principles in favour of rigid centralization of the state apparatus was qualified by him as a distortion of the Marxist line. The same point of view was also held by many of those who comprised the so-called Old Guard of the Bolsheviks. At the constituent Congress of Soviets on December 30, 1922, Mikhail Frunze, who was the first to speak in the debate on Stalin's report, emphasized: the conference of authorized delegates, elected by the national congresses, deems it necessary to have additional guarantees for the sovereignty of the Republics to be united; each of them must be in a position—independently and with account of the local specific features—to tackle economic and cultural construction. Frunze suggested that the texts of the Declaration and Treaty should be approved only in their main points and that the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, elected at the Congress, should be instructed to carefully work out both documents.

The debates on what the relationships among the independent Soviet Republics should be flared up in the spring of 1922. Lenin, being ill, took no active part in these disputes. However, he voiced concern over the draft "On the Relationships Between the RSFSR and the Independent Republics" (it envisaged the incorporation of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia into the Russian Federation with the status of Autonomous Republics) prepared by a special commission of the Organizing Bureau of the Party's Central Committee headed by Stalin. He expressed his judgements on this question in late September, when his health took a turn for the better.

On September 25, Lenin asked for necessary materials to be sent to him to Gorki, where he lived at the time; he needed practically no time to come up with a detailed criticism of the prepared plan for the unification of the Soviet Republics: on September 26, in a long letter to members of the Politbureau, he advocated a fundamentally different path of unification. Assessing the idea of "autonomization", i.e., direct entry of the independent Republics into the RSFSR, as a departure from the principles of proletarian internationalism, he put forward a new form of a federal state: on the basis of voluntary and equal unification of independent Soviet Republics. Pointing to the impermissibility of a bureaucratic distortion of the unfiication ideas, Lenin warned against excessive centralism, stressing the need to strengthen the sovereignty of every Republic as the indispensable condition for bringing the peoples closer together. Full equality, sincerity, mutual respect, friendship, fraternal cooperation and mutual understanding—these, he believed, should be the pivots of international relations in a new Soviet federal state. He wrote: "We consider ourselves, the Ukrainian SSR and others, equal, and enter with them, on an equal basis, into a new union, a new federation."

Stalin painfully reacted to Lenin's remarks on his draft. Stalin's letter to members of the Politbureau, written on September 27, 1922, on the day after his long talk with Lenin, contained a phrase about Lenin's "national liberalism." Even introducing considerable amendments into his draft, on Lenin's insistence, Stalin tried to bypass his differences with him. In the preamble of the new document it was put on record that it amounted to a "somewhat modified, more accurate formulation" of the previous wording which was "correct in the main and acceptable beyond all doubt".

This, as well as the course of discussing this question in the press, made Lenin even more alarmed. On the day of the formation of the USSR he dictated his letter "the Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomization'": "I suppose I have been very remiss with respect to the workers of Russia for not having intervened energetically and decisively enough in the notorious question of autonomization, which, it appears, is officially called the question of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." Lenin speaks about his guilt despite the fact that, as we know, he repeatedly and vigorously stated his views on the question under discussion. What is amazing in this letter is that, on the day when the Declaration and Treaty were being signed, Lenin said that the given question was only "officially" called the question of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, stressing that, in his view, attempts were still made to carry into effect the old plan which was not fully consistent with the exigencies of life.

"We must maintain and strengthen the Union of Socialist Republics," Lenin stressed. "Of this there can be no doubt. This measure is necessary for us and it is necessary for the world communist proletariat..."

Although Stalin's plan was turned down, it still had the support of a number of leading officials. Even after the October 1922 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, Kamenev, for one, suggested that the new state entity should retain the old name—RSFSR.

In passing the Declaration and Treaty on the formation of the USSR at the 1st Congress of Soviets, the delegates proceeded from the decisions of the December 1922

Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which envisaged the need for additional guarantees of sovereignty for the Republics beign united, which, as we have noted, Mikhail Frunze spoke about at the Congress.

It is striking that Stalin constantly sought to prove the inaccuracy and excessive emotionality of Lenin's remarks about Stalin's "spite" against opponents from the national Republics. Lenin stressed that in politics spite generally "plays the basest of roles". It is significant that, in early 1923, preparing the theses "On National Moments in Party and State Construction" for the 12th Party Congress, Stalin deliberately omitted everything that reminded people of Lenin's critical remarks.

It will be recalled that the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, on February 21 and 24, 1923, having adopted the theses prepared by Stalin as the basis, pointed, however to the insufficient elaboration of their theoretical part and the absence of an indication as to the danger of any manifestations of great-power chauvinism. Both at that time and in subsequent years Stalin constantly sought to accentuate the danger of parochial nationalism alone, pretending that he was not aware of Lenin's injunctions: it is better to overdo rather than underdo the concessions and leniency towards the national minorities.

Regrettably, we still find it hard to extricate our selves from the preset patterns and schematism, once defined by Stalin, in setting forth the events linked to the formation of the USSR. Until this day, no space has been given in scientific practice to the documents testifying that, even after Lenin's criticism, Stalin adhered to this point of view on the methods and forms of creating a multinational state. Hence the distorted notion that, having allegedly accepted Lenin's proposals, Stalin defended and carried them into effect. This is a far cry from the truth.

Historian Recalls Stalin's Pre-War Mistakes

PM131715 [Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 10 January 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 2 under the headline "History Is Not a Tribute to the Past" an 1,800-word interview with Hero of the Soviet Union Doctor of Historical Sciences Vsevolod Ivanovich Klokov, winner of the USSR State Prize and corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA stringer Colonel of the Reserve B. Lyapkalo (place and date of interview not given).

Following a brief outline by Klokov of his wartime career and some general remarks about the wartime trials of the Soviet Union and its triumphs in the face of adverse odds, the interview goes on:

"[Lyapkalo] What did you personally feel then, during the war years, about all this of which you spoke just now as an historian?

"[Klokov] We had faith in victory. If anyone did perceive matters differently, he broke down and became a traitor. How could we have managed otherwise, without faith? It was, of course, bitter and shameful for young strong guys to break out of the encirclement, abandoning the beloved land to be ravaged by the enemy. We had no doubt that we would gain it back by fighting for every inch. The doubts and perplexities arose in a different context—why were we actually retreating? After all, let us be frank about it, during the prewar years we were taught that any enemy would be crushed on his own territory. And here they were, in our own land. You can imagine how the soul was tortured and torn apart by this knowledge...

"There were, of course, also subjective factors, especially those mistakes by Stalin which have already been discussed at some length in the press.

"There is something I would like to add in this context. Well aware of the correlation of the military-economic potentials of our country and of fascist Germany, Stalin tried by all means to postpone the start of the war. But was this to be achieved by those means? After all, the people were being misled as regards the real state of affairs. For example, I personally witnessed our military echelons making their way westward by circuitous routes already in May 1941. And the paratroop division in which I was serving, stationed close to the border, was swiftly brought up to wartime strength starting in April. But the people were being told that there would be no war. Consequently, the attack by the Hitlerites was a surprise for our people and this, of course, also played an adverse role.

"[Lyapkalo] The editorial office showed me letters whose writers raise questions about the fact that many of our historical publications err, to put it mildly, on the side of deviations from truth to suit individual personalities. What is your personal attitude toward time-serving in general and time-serving in historical science in particular?

"[Klokov] I believe that 'time-serving' is not an abusive word. After all, it determines demand. Right? Time-serving considerations would not be dominant if the supply were honest and sincere. The unambiguous assessment of the war's results and Stalin's activity immediately after the victory and in the light of the firework displays is not truth. But then, neither are today's excessive abuses. This is time-serving, because both sets of assessments are frequently made by exactly the same persons. So where is the honesty and sincerity here?"

The remainder of the interview deals with the generation gap and the "natural and simple" way it was tackled during the war.

New Film First To Show 'Political Prisoners'

PM111631 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 1, 3 Jan 88 p 15

[Unattributed review: "A Blockbuster Thriller!"—boldface as published]

[Text] After a long break, our film industry has finally come up with a real thriller, "The Cold Summer of 1953".

A thriller is a rarity in Soviet cinematography. Of course, we have had "Chapayev", "The Feat of Reconnaissance" and "A White Sun in a Desert"—but that's all. A good thriller is very difficult to make because it takes more than special effects. It takes a good honest idea. The new film directed by Aleksandr Proshkin has got what it takes.

We have seen many pugnacious films of "The 20th-Century Pirates" type. None of them had a Hero. There cannot be a good thriller without a Hero.

"The Cold Summer of 1953" features a classic Hero who beats a violent gang of heavily armed criminals. Compared to "The 20th-Century Pirates" where people are killed by dozens, the six of "The Cold Summer of 1953" is a mere trifle. But we are definitely on the Hero's side, as he does get them all, one by one. This is what really matters.

To top it all, it is the first Soviet film to feature political prisoners, the victims of Stalinist terror. One is a civilian, an ex-technical director of a large enterprise, who has served 14 years on false charges of spying. (It is the late Anatoliy Papanov's last, superb part.) The other is a professional military man (acted by Valeriy Priyomykhov), an ex-commander in reconnaissance. He was taken prisoner by the Nazis, escaped immediately, but was nevertheless branded "a traitor of the Motherland".

He saves a northern village and all its residents, even those who were not worth saving, from a gang of criminals released by the amnesty declared upon Stalin's death. Thousands of them left penal camps to plunder, kill and rape.

We **envy** those who might have more space to describe the types brilliantly portrayed in the film: a militiaman, a barge skipper, a storekeeper, and two excellent female characterizations.

We **predict** that the film will be a record box-office success.

We **advise** our film distributors to sell it dear, because "The Cold Summer of 1953" is sure to sell well—in America, Europe or any other place where good blockbuster thrillers are appreciated.

Economic

Statistics 'Throw Light' on State of Industry

PM131651 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov review under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "The Ministry of the Light Industry Alone..."]

[Text] The State Committee for Statistics reports: In 1987 USSR Ministry of the Light Industry enterprises failed to deliver around R1 billion-worth of output and goods promised under contracts and schedules.

More than 3 months ago, under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary" (IZVESTIYA No 269), I wrote about the problematic situation in the light industry. The sector was one of the first to switch to the new conditions of management. Since January last year its work has revolved around consumers' orders. But it is the fulfillment of these orders which has not gotten off the ground. In my last commentary I cited the following figure: During the first 8 months of the year, sector enterprises have run up a debt to clients totaling R897 million.

We have received a reply to this commentary signed by First Deputy Minister Z.I. Razumeyev. It is a detailed and well-argued reply. It shows with what a burdensome legacy the sector embarked on the new conditions of work. The main problem was the imbalance between production volumes and raw and other material resources (totaling R3.4 billion in retail prices at the beginning of last year!). Naturally, this resulted in the fitful operation of enterprises. Furthermore, it brought many of them to the brink of financial collapse. In the period between January and September fines for failure to meet delivery contract deadlines and infringements of product-mix specifications exceeded R500 million.

There is also another yardstick for measuring the sector's performance, however. The preceding period—1986. This is the yardstick the first deputy minister used. Acknowledging that the criticism leveled by the newspaper at the ministry was correct, he made a comparison with the sector's performance in the year before last on every point that had been criticized.

For instance, the total debt to the State Bank and clients totaled R1.9 billion by 1 October 1987, the reply states. In comparison with the corresponding period of 1986, however, it had been reduced by... R1.4 billion!

Well, everything is relative, and positive changes in the work of the sector are undeniable. The first deputy minister cites the following figures: The plan for turnover tax has been overfulfilled by R691 million. Furthermore state revenue was increased by more than R700 million on account of the production of higher-grade "N" index goods and high-fashion articles marketed at contract prices. The output of high-fashion goods during the first 9 months had almost trebled in comparison with the corresponding period of 1986.

Other, deeper processes currently under way in the sector cannot be ignored, either. This concerns the retooling of enterprises, and a quest for new forms of production sharing and cooperation with allied enterprises and suppliers.

Take, for instance, the Leningrad "Skorokhod" footwear production association. There, in cooperation with GDR colleagues, the production of high-grade textile footwear has been organized. International production sharing with India and Vietnam in the manufacture of footwear is expanding. An agreement on a joint contract has been signed with the FRG's Salamander firm...

Yes, there are changes... Nonetheless, should we be congratulating ourselves? Of course not. All of us today must apply a different yardstick. Those who produce the goods and those who buy (or try to buy) them. This yardstick is the specific requirements of specific people. After all, shop assistants cannot put up a sign: "We have no goods, we do have difficulties." After all, of what interest to consumers are the difficulties of the Ministry of the Light Industry?

In front of me are two huge batches of readers' letters. One is labeled "Shortages," the other "Complaints about the low quality of goods." As you read these letters the optimistic lines of the ministry's official reply begin to pale. Statistics make it possible to throw light on the actual situation.

The USSR Ministry of the Light Industry, the report states, continues to produce goods which are not in demand, and often simply of low quality. During the first 9 months of 1987 40 million meters of fabric, 2.9 million knitted articles, and 8.7 million pairs of shoes of substandard or lower than rated quality were produced. It is millions rather than thousands that are at stake!

Did the share of fashionable articles increase? Yes. But on the other hand their output is clearly insufficient to meet demand. High-fashion articles account for 5.1% of knitwear, 6.7% of shoes, and less than 1% of fabrics. Many consumers are not pleased at the high prices of high-fashion and "N" index goods. "The poor women have already become used to buying shoes costing R120. Now the men's turn has come. Summer shoes costing R60! Where are the simple if not very fashionable but cheap goods? They are nowhere to be found..."

Meanwhile there is virtually no hope of imported goods. Over the past 11 months of last year import deliveries have been reduced by R5 billion. What about our cooperatives? What they have produced so far is just a drop in the bucket. The market situation and the balance between supply and demand continue to depend entirely on the performance of light industry enterprises under union, republic, and local jurisdiction. Paraphrasing the words of the poet [Mayakovskiy] it is possible to claim boldly: "The Ministry of the Light Industry Alone!" Let's hope that sometime in the future these words will sound encouraging.

Minister Advocates Trade-Industry Integration

PM121647 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 52, 27 Dec 88 p 13

[Estonian Minister of Light Industry Yuriy Kraft article: "A Counter of our Own on the World Market"—boldface as published]

[Text] It will soon be three years since the commencement of a interesting economic experiment carried out in the Ministry of Light Industry of the Estonian Republic.

Emphasis was put on increasing the output of goods which are in short supply. For instance, the production of children's footwear has increased by over 30 per cent, and considerably more carpets, textiles and leather goods are being made. In comparison with the beginning of the experiment the production of consumer goods and labour productivity have grown by more than 15 per cent, and profit-by 23 per cent.

Although we have not yet reached 100 per cent fulfilment of the plan for deliveries on contracts, which is, incidentally, an incredibly difficult task for the light industry in view of its extremely broad assortment, we have come cloes, up to 0.1 per cent, to this desired frontier. Exports and cooperative supplies have increased threefold.

From the beginning of 1985, Estonia's light industry has worked as a single comprehensive system comparable to a large corporation. It includes 23 production enterprises, a planning and construction organization, three wholesale trade depots, a wholesale depot for the provision of raw materials, 14 specialized stores, a training complex, and a planning and design office for the management systems. In this way supply, production, trade, science and construction have been put together to form a chain.

Priority has been given to economic levers. Now our system works on the basis of full cost-accounting and compensates all its spending from its earnings, including the expenses for industrial and housing construction, modernization of enterprises, purchase of equipment, etc. After the necessary deductions, the profit is spent to meet the needs of the work collective without any strict regulations.

Only now, three years later, do we feel that with the advent of economic methods of management such customary things as parasitic attitudes, corrections to the plan, and redistribution of profits will never return.

It means that cost accounting requires further development. Some economists have already suggested projects for transferring whole regions to cost-accounting and self-financing. There are many rash and controversial elements in this. But it is obvious that the Republic's industrial-commercial complex needs **stable normative for the distribution of the produced commodity between all-Union needs and consumption in our own region.** This will not only make work collectives more interested in boosting the production of consumer goods, but will also ensure social justice-the more you produce, the more of it there is on the counters where it was produced. The point is that, despite the increase in the volume of output, the republic's commodity funds, far from being increased, have, on the contrary, been diminished in 1987.

The result constitutes a peculiar punishment for initiative. It is true that now, according to available figures, the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Trade of the USSR, in distributing the funds for 1988, have taken our specific contribution into account, but this has not yet ruled out the need to establish a stable norm for distribution.

The establishment of a single economic complex was prompted by the need to dismantle departmental barriers and contradictions. Let us take, at least, the question of interrelations between trade and industry. Despite constant calls for joint action in meeting the population's demand for clothing and footwear, trade and industry have, regrettably, acted separately quite often. Nor will durable direct links between supplier and customer be of any help here. Why? Evidently because at the moment of realizing the finished product to the trading organization the industrial organization has secured its end result and bears no responsibility for its sale. This results in stocks of unsellable goods at warehouses of wholesale depots and stores in many regions of the country.

On the other hand, trade continues to experience an acute need for commodities, has no levers with which to influence the assortment of output, and is not even responsible for studying demand or placing correct orders. Isn't this confirmed by the condition of the market recently in woollen, flax and cotton fabrics, bed linen and other commodities? Cram today and starve tomorrow. It was hard to determine who was right and wrong-trade nodded at industry while industry accused trade of all troubles. The customer stood to suffer from all of this.

One proposal that arose was to combine industry and wholesale trade into an integral system. Today the Republic's light industry system has wholesale depots for trade in textiles, clothing and footwear. Wholesale depots enjoy broader rights, having been granted the possibility of direct commodity exchange with CEMA member-countries, and are more responsible for the correspondence of the order to industry to the demand of the population. The main thing, however, is the enhanced efficiency of all units, which now work in "one team".

On the other hand, the restructuring of management would be half-hearted if it did not provide industrial enterprises with a direct outlet to the customer. This aim was reached with the organization of a network of specialized stores of enterprises. We are convinced that even these measures are insufficient. In our opinion, **the future belongs to industrial-commercial associations** (enterprises) which, having a whole network of specialized stores, would be responsible for meeting the demand of the population. There must be no fear that this will result in the monopoly position of industry, because state trade and consumers' cooperative societies will still be responsible for their stores. This step would create healthy competition.

There has been a cardinal change in the attitude towards raising the competitive capacity of our goods on the foreign market. Incidentally, no matter how we may appraise the quality of output—with a Quality Mark, the Novel of Specially Fashionable Commodity index or first-category product—**its true quality is expressed solely by its competitive capacity on the world market.**

Even in our system there were once many people who believed that it was impossible to trade with light industry products on the world market, saying that the gap between us and them was too big. But now we trade with firms in 21 countries, including Finland, the FRG, Japan, the USA, France, Italy, Norway, Portugal and Denmark. We have established long-term mutually beneficial relations with many firms. In a short time finished products paid for the purchased equipment and technology.

We link the extension of the volumes of export with the fulfilment of the tasks in modernizing a number of our enterprises such as the Kreenholm Manufaktura complex and the Marat knitwear production association.

The establishment of joint ventures having common capital with foreign firms is a totally new form of foreign economic and foreign trade cooperation. The Est-Finn joint firm for sewing especially fashionable clothes, the first in the country's light industry, will start production in the second half of 1988. It is being set with the participation of the V. Klementi sewing-production association and the Finnish Kati-Myynti Oy joint-stock company. We are currently exploring the possibilities of setting up other joint ventures as well.

Special attention is given to cooperation with enterprises in CEMA member-countries. In our export-import operations we feel the effects of perestroika in the work of

foreign trade organizations. They are now more effective in looking for partners and concluding transactions. Hungarian partners have tabled a proposal to organize, on the basis of equivalent commodity exchange, a Budapest store in the capital of the Republic and a corresponding Tallin store in the capital of Hungary.

I believe that to make the enterprises more interested in boosting exports **it would be advisable to accelerate the circulation of currency receipts and transfer the money received to the supplier enterprises not at the end of the clearing year, but as it is received.** Secondly, there must be more efficiency in keeping the enterprises posted about the effectiveness of the export deals they conclude.

The work done over the past three years has convincingly proved that positive results can only be obtained through the improvement of the economic mechanism and a bold search for innovations. We have opted for this road.

New Conditions for Enterprise Readiness Noted

PM141055 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 2, Jan 88 (signed to press 7 Jan 88) p 19

[Unattributed report: "At the Commission for the Improvement of Management, Planning, and the Economic Mechanism"]

[Text] A session of the Commission for the Improvement of Management, Planning, and the Economic Mechanism, set up by a USSR Council of Ministers resolution, has discussed a number of methodological questions concerning the activity of enterprises and organizations due to be transferred to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing in 1988-1990.

With a view to improving the coordination of activity by central economic departments concerning methodological backing for the transfer of enterprises (associations) of national economic sectors to full economic accountability and self-financing and to ensuring that methodological documents conform in full with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise, the commission deemed it necessary to examine at its sessions any instructions and methodological documents issued by central economic departments concerning the introduction of the new economic mechanism.

The commission gave basic approval to the Regulation on Procedures To Be Used by Enterprises in Setting Contract Wholesale Prices for Output for Production and Technical Purposes and Services of a Production Nature, submitted by the USSR State Committee on Prices. It was established that when such prices are applied or changed (including instances when they are replaced by centrally set prices), the plan indicators and economic normatives set for enterprises (associations) producing or consuming this output (services) are not subject to amendment.

Approval was also given to the Methodology for Determining Wholesale Prices for Output for Production and Technical Purposes by Raw Material Sectors of Heavy Industry, submitted by the USSR State Committee on Prices. (Footnote 1) (The Provisional Methodology for Determining Wholesale Prices for New Machine Building Output for Production and Technical Purposes, approved by the USSR State Committee on Prices, was published in EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 51, 1987.)

Reports were heard on the state of preparedness of enterprises under republic ministries in production sectors for transfer to full economic accountability and self-financing. It was noted that several republics have revised the transfer schedule, as a result of which consumer services and local industry enterprises in most republics will be transferred in 1988. At the same time, the preparation of enterprises for transfer to full economic accountability and self-financing remains unsatisfactory in many union republics. The transfer of enterprises under republic jurisdiction in the Turkmen SSR has been unjustifiably postponed until 1989.

The commission's session approved the Moscow Gorispolkom initiative on the creation of translation work, theatrical, leisure, consultation, sports and health care, trading and purchasing, engineering-technical, and other types of cooperatives. Moscow Gorispolkom was authorized to accept for registration the statutes of such cooperatives, drawn up on the basis of the model statutes of cooperatives for consumer services to the population, public catering, and consumer goods production. (Footnote 2) (The model statutes of cooperatives were published by EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 9, 1987.)

It was established that such cooperatives are to be set up directly under the appropriate organizations, which must exercise effective monitoring to ensure the professional standard of operations and the ideological orientation of their activity in conformity with USSR legislation.

State Enterprise Law Constraints Analyzed

PM250955 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 88 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Under New Conditions. State Enterprise Law Binding on All Production Workers and Administration Workers"]

[Text] The USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) has come into force. It substantially changes the methods of managing the economy, gives collectives an interest in working thriftily and to a high standard, and creates conditions for developing democracy and self-management in labor collectives.

Prior to the introduction of economic accountability [khozraschet] enterprises would cover only current expenditure and direct the bulk of their profits into the budget, from where they were then distributed in a centralized manner. Now, under conditions of full economic accountability, each enterprise's income from selling its products must cover transactions with the budget, labor remuneration, and expenditure of resources and ensure the enterprise's self-development. Full economic accountability also provides for payment to be levied from enterprises for all kinds of resources utilized—natural, labor, and credit resources and production capital.

Under these conditions every member of a collective is concerned as to whether the plant fulfills all its orders. What is the level of economically accountable income—the proportion of the profits remaining at the collective's disposal? How quickly are all workplaces renewed and improved? Are the technical standard and the quality of the output being produced high? In short, many questions which used to seem not very important are now becoming the vital concern of every working person. This is prompted by logic and by the purport and content of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise.

Experience of applying the new law is, of course, still not great. But the very first 10 days of work under the new conditions have shown that not all management and production components are guided by the demands of the law or treat the matter responsibly. Everything is still operating in the old way at the Tyumen Accumulator Plant, for example. After working just a few days, an imported line for the production of batteries in acutely short supply broke down there. It had cost R9 million. The enterprise workers were forced to go back to manual production of obsolete, unprofitable output. The same plant was also let down by the collective of the Sverdlovsk "Plastik" Association, which proved to be not ready to punctually supply semimanufactures. What of the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, which is in charge of the Tyumen Accumulator Plant? Instead of giving real assistance, it set the collective an additional, economically unsubstantiated target. Clearly, it is time to put a stop to such practices.

Economic accountability and self-financing actively advance the individual to the fore and clearly show him the growth of material benefits is directly dependent on his personal labor and his attitude to the matter at his workplace. Every working person is beginning to count up expenditures and results more carefully, to economize on material resources, and make more efficient use of every hour of worktime. At the same time, production workers actively oppose any shortcoming or voluntarist decision which lowers the return on economic accountability. Thus, the Law on the State Enterprise creates objective conditions for people to display initiative and enterprise and makes them pull their weight. It is designed to eradicate an easy attitude to work and put in their place slipshod workers, loafers, and idlers accustomed to the old system of wage leveling and unwarranted pay and bonus levels.

An unscrupulous attitude to one's work is particularly intolerable today. Someone armed with modern knowledge and equipment produces more and more output, and his labor is increasingly closely dependent on the activity of thousands of other participants in social production. Under such conditions carelessness on the part of even one worker, engineer, or scientist could have extremely serious consequences and is fraught with tremendous losses for society.

The independence of enterprises is still incomplete to some extent. For economic levers now act in tandem with administrative-command levers. This will make itself felt through the end of the current 5-year plan. In accordance with the old habit, for example, the USSR Gosplan and ministries have in a number of cases unwarrantedly extended the range of state orders for this year, filling the entire production program of many enterprises right up with them. At the same time, state orders have not been fully backed up with material resources, means of transport, and so forth.

It is no coincidence that serious miscalculations and misunderstandings have come to light during the very first 10 days of this year. For example, a number of petroleum-refining and petrochemical plants of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry are not to blame for the fact that they are working below full capacity. The reason is that all the plant storage space is filled with finished output, but the supply of trains of empty tank cars to petrochemical enterprises from the Ministry of Railways is uneven and irregular. Whereas last year much could be put down to the severe winter, in the majority of regions the opening days of January are not posing special problems in the work of transport. Thus, it is a case of low responsibility.

There are still many problems in production even now. The flow of telegrams reporting interruptions in the supply of timber materials, metal, and cement is not drying up. Because of this construction workers and collectives of a number of plants producing machinery and equipment did not work at full stretch during the first 10 days of January. There are also reports that local soviet and party organs are continuing to demand that enterprise leaders first and foremost exceed their volume plans, showing little concern as to whether the above-plan output has been ordered.

Not only enterprises and associations but also planning and supply organs, state committees, ministries, and local soviet and party organs are obliged to be guided by the requirements of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise. However, many old instructions and directions which negate fresh thought, initiative, and enterprise still survive. In addition, obsolete documents are being revoked inadmissibly slowly. The provinces recently

received from central departments and ministries long lists of revoked instructions and codes which had been drawn up as long ago as the late fifties and the sixties. Departments must get a move on.

Any legal act—and especially the USSR Law on the State Enterprise—will start working at full force when corresponding moral norms have been asserted in society which do not permit a dual interpretation of any of the law's articles, when everyone—from minister to worker—knows it thoroughly and is guided by it in practice. It is necessary not to relax but to increase efforts aimed at carefully studying the law and strictly check against it every step and every decision elaborated. The party committees of the USSR Gosplan, Gossnab, and State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and other central departments must block all attempts to encumber the Law on the State Enterprise with brakes in the form of new instructions and provisions and to force it into the framework of bureaucratic practice.

The success of all radical reform is decided in work places, in party and trade union organizations, in local Komsomol links. Strengthening and energizing restructuring means everyone conscientiously fulfilling his duties and strengthening order, discipline, and organization in all sectors of production and management.

Pavlov on Parameters of New Price System

LD131422 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1610 GMT on 23 December 1987 broadcasts an installment of the "On the Road to Radical Reform" series in which heads of central economic ministries and departments clarify the basic principles of the transfer to the new system of management. In this 30-minute installment, Moscow Television Political Observer Lev Aleksandrovich Voznesenskiy interviews Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov, USSR State Committee on Prices chairman, on the problems of prices in the nation's price system and pricing policy.

Voznesenskiy and Pavlov are shown seated opposite one another in a study. Pavlov devotes most of his time to emphasizing the complexity of the issue. He notes that many people have misconceptions about the introduction of a new price system and the whole issue of price formation under this new system. He acknowledged that people such as himself bear some responsibility for this by having provided insufficient explanations.

Voznesenskiy ways that even though it has already been discussed in a previous program, he would like Pavlov to define some time parameters as to when the work on elaborating both the new principles of price formation and implementing them will be concluded.

Pavlov responds saying it is difficult to tell when this work will be finished before a report for the technical work itself has been prepared. Pavlov begins to say that then he will be able to give examples. At this point, Voznesenskiy interrupts saying, "That is when the conception of price formation is worked out in full."

Pavlov agrees with this clarification, noting that a whole system of prices is being elaborated.

Near the end of the program, Voznesenskiy reiterates the complexity of the issues involved in the topic, noting that Pavlov had only been able to deal with a part of them. He refers viewers interested in better understanding the subject to an article by Pavlov dealing with the topic of price formation in detail which is in issue No 13, 1987 of KOMMUNIST.

Light Industry Forms Foreign Trade Association

LD121050 Moscow TASS in English 0901 GMT 12 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—A new foreign trade association, "Soyuzvneshtorglegprom" has been formed at the Ministry of Light Industry of the USSR. The association is bound to promote by its activities envigoration of relations with foreign partners in the light industry. Enterprises of that ministry hold leading positions in the USSR in the manufacture of consumer goods. The association will deal with export and import of foot-wear, garments and knitted goods, leather and other products.

A very important task of the new foreign trade association is to promote the development of progressive forms of trade and economic cooperation with partners in the socialist countries, including cooperation and specialization in the manufacture of products. It is supposed to establish integration of production with Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish and Czechoslovak enterprises. Over 90 documents have by now been signed on the development of direct production and scientific-technical relations between factories and plants of the ministry and partners from fraternal countries.

Signed within the framework of direct relations were, for instance, two contracts between Estonian cotton enterprises and the Hungarian Budaprint. They will do the finishing of fabrics and put out clothing on a cooperative basis. The Moscow factory Parizhskaya Kommuna and the Hungarian factory Minosegi will be engaged in the reciprocal deliveries of foot-wear and hides. Korean and Vietnamese enterprises will continue putting out, from Soviet raw materials and fabrics, semi-finished material for foot-wear and garments, which also come to the Soviet market.

"Soyuzvneshtorglegprom" will also strive for further development of contacts with Western firms. The possibility of materializing a number of Western countries' proposals for cooperation and manufacture of clothing, knitted fabrics, leather goods is now under discussion.

Agricultural

Seed Quality, Machine Readiness Causes Concern

PM141628 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 14 Jan 88 p 1

[N. Osychkin "Agricultural Review": "High Readiness for the Spring!"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Many factors determine the size of the crop. But perhaps the most important is seed. What kind of grain is put into the ground determines what kind of crop will grow. An example is the farms of Belorussia, which last year obtained 34 quintals of grain per hectare. Only top quality standardized seed was sown there. Every oblast has seed supply farms, and variety replacement and variety renewal are well-organized. Cleansing and drying production lines operate everywhere. It is no accident that today 82% of grain and pulse crop seed here is classified as first grade.

But what about the country as a whole? In the main, sufficient seed has been laid in. But its quality is causing concern. By 1 January 78% was graded. That includes 40% in the top category—9% less than last year. Whereas in the Ukraine 89% of seed is top grade, in the RSFSR the figure is 30%, in Kazakhstan—34%, in Estonia—18%, in Uzbekistan—5%, in Kalinin Oblast—5%, in Krasnoyarsk Kray—6%, and in the Udmurt ASSR—6%. Tajikistan and Turkmenia are lagging behind with the preparation of seed material. Yet here it will soon be time for the sowing.

It is worrying that in the past month, on the Gosagroprom's farms, only 4% has been added to the existing first and second grade seed. That is in the conditions of a favorable, warm winter, when stocks could be built up at full speed. In Ryazan Oblast as yet only just over half the seed is graded. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes have the machinery they need to bring all the grain into condition in 20-30 days. But in December practically nothing was done there in this respect, and the quality indicators remained as they were. The same is true of the farms of North Kazakhstan Oblast, where work at the dumps and storehouses is being delayed. Of the quantity tested, only half the seed meets the requirements of the first and second grades.

The most important thing now is to waste no time and to step up the interest and responsibility of those who prepare the "gold reserve" for the harvest. Agro-industrial committees and associations and kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders are called upon to set up round-the-clock schedules for processing seed and ensure strict monitoring of their fulfillment. It is necessary fully to complete seed cleansing by 1 February and exchange operations by 1 March. As yet only one-fifth of the stocks allocated have been taken out of state resources, and interrepublican and interoblast shipments are proceeding only slowly. It is important to pay close attention to ensuring a full supply of seed for spring wheat, especially durum wheat, for regions of Siberia and Kazakhstan, to stepping up the processing of early and middle crop hybrids of corn, and to increasing stocks and improving processing of groat crop grain. In a number of places the coating of seeds—a very important means of preserving them and improving the germination rate—is neglected. The correct action is taken where they carry out control tests to establish the true quality, rather than the quality on paper, of seed stocks on certain farms.

Winter is the best time to prepare machinery. The CPSU Central Committee Letter set the task of completing repairs of soil cultivation and sowing machines by 1 February, and harvesting machines by 1 April. Machine operators in Moscow, Bryansk, Voronezh, Belgorod, Donetsk, and Brest Oblasts are coping successfully with this work. The average rate of repair in the country as a whole, however, is lower than last year. By the beginning of January only 85% of tractors had been made ready, including 80% of high-powered tractors, as well as 92% of plows, 91% of seeders, and 91% of cultivators. This level is significantly lower on the farms of Dzhizak and Kashka-Darya Oblasts. In Navoi Oblast only 37% of cultivators and 59% of seeders have been repaired. On Kharkov Oblast's kolkhozes and sovkhozes they have not really begun repairing mowers, rakes, and pickup balers.

The restoration of grain harvesting combines is considerably lower than the potential. Only 58% of these machines are in working order. Once again Kharkov Oblast is behind, with only 39% of the pool having been repaired. Yet here they have major agricultural machine building enterprises and a reliable repair base. The oblast agro-industrial committee and its chairman S.A. Krasikov make poor use of the potential and have turned their backs on an important task. The situation is no better in Krasnoyarsk Kray, where only half of the 13,000 combines have been prepared.

It is necessary to resolutely step up the pace of machinery repairs, eliminate poor organization and amateurishness at the workshops and plants, and ensure the strictest observance of schedules for ensuring that machinery is ready. The quality of repairs is a subject of special concern. All machinery should undergo technical servicing and receive a permit for use in the fields. Yet this requirement is not observed everywhere.

Delays with the preparation of machinery are sometimes explained in terms of the shortage of space parts and subassemblies. Measures are now being taken to establish delivery discipline. All the same, the debtors still include the Noginsk fuel apparatus plant, the Yaroslavl and Altay motor plants, the Vladimir and Minsk tractor plants, and the Rostov bearings plant. It is important to supply fuel and lubricants in good time and take steps to save fuel and improve its utilization.

The interests of the next harvest require a comprehensive approach to all presowing work. There must be no lessening of attention toward the procurement of organic fertilizers and their transportation to the fields, the liming of acid soils, and the preparation of irrigation systems. The winter crop fields require careful tending, and recently the situation has been complicated here by the melting snow from half the area. In a word, the crop farmers now have a great many jobs, and all of them are important and urgent.

Military

Airfield Security Issue Reopened

PM141611 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed article under the rubric "Following Up a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Article": "'In a Domestic Atmosphere...'"]

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel S. Levitskiy's article of the same title under the rubric "Problem Demands Solution" (20 August) discussed shortcomings in the organization of the protection and defense of military airfields.

Major General of Aviation N. Antoshkin, Kiev Military District air force chief of staff, has reported that the article was studied at a military council session with the leading command and political staff of the district's air force and all categories of servicemen. The article has been recognized as correct and well-founded. The district's air force command has taken measures to eradicate the shortcomings. Additional exercises have been planned for studying individual topics in general tactics, weapons training, and grenade throwing, along with training sessions for riflemen and anti-aircraft gunners. Proposals have been drawn up to be given to the Kiev Military District commander on allocating the manpower and materiel of Ground Forces units to protect and defend airfields.

The regulations governing admission to the territory of the garrison mentioned in the report, to the service territories of other units, and to fortifications within the airfield defense system have been brought into line with the demands of leadership documents, and the gaps in the garrison's perimeter barbed wire entanglement are being repaired.

The reply about the measures being taken by air communications personnel was signed by Major General of Aviation G. Ulyanov. The article "In a Domestic Atmosphere" was discussed at a conference of the leading personnel of the Air Force Communications Troops and Electronic Support Services Directorate apparatus. The criticism was recognized as being correct. To eradicate these shortcomings it is planned to carry out special tactical exercises in each training period to repulse attacks by enemy subversion and intelligence groups against communications and electronic support centers and installations, and the monitoring of practical weapons training exercises has been stepped up. Combat training programs stipulate special tactical exercises to ensure the combat coordination of units and subunits and the rehearsal of questions of the protection and defense of communications and electronic support centers and installations.

The areas of the training methodology handbook dealing with general troop training subjects are to be amplified for subunit commanders and weapon crew chiefs. Chiefs of communications and electronic support troops have been instructed to check the organization of the protection and defense of centers and installations in the areas under their command, to take specific measures to improve their organization, and to monitor preparation fire exercises.

Colonel V. Fetisov, Air Force Rear Services chief of staff, reported that the critical newspaper article had been examined at a Air Force Rear Services central apparatus conference. Air Force airfields' engineering support plans have been amplified and corrected in the interests of protection and defense.

The Air Force deputy commander in chief for rear services and Air Force Rear Services chief demanded that Air Force rear service unit commanders conduct systematic and timely exercises with all categories of servicemen in accordance with the combat training plans.

The measures being taken, however, sometimes do not allow us to fully resolve all the problems of airfield protection and defense. The question of stepping up the protection of temporary airstrips when there are commandants' offices for air technical units with a very limited number of personnel comprising mainly junior technical service specialists sited there remains complicated. Inefficient use is made of technical defense means and security and fire warnings. The course of fulfilling the measures to eradicate the shortcomings pointed out in the article has been taken in hand by the Air Force Rear Services Headquarters.

It is clear from Col V. Fetisov's answer that the Air Force Rear Services Headquarters is incapable of resolving all the problems by itself. However, it is not clear to whom the rear services headquarters was turning for help.

Naval Cartographers Involved in 'Unique' Work

PM131015 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 88 Second Edition p 6

[Retired Lieutenant Captain V. Yeliseyev article under the rubric "Details at Readers' Request": "The Maritime Chart—its Past, Present, and Future"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The unique works of fundamental cartography produced at the Navy Central Command—the Marine Atlas and the Atlas of the World's

Oceans—are evidence of the high level of development of Soviet maritime cartography. These atlases contain systematized information on the seas and oceans, are of great scientific value, and have no parallel in world cartography. More than 30 of the country's scientific research organizations were involved in compiling the maps in the Atlas of the World's Oceans, and marine cartographers completed the work of this vast collective of scientists and engineers. Three volumes of the atlas have already been published. Preparations for the publication of the last volumes are nearing their conclusion; the volumes are to be entitled "The World's Straits" and "Man and the Ocean." The first two volumes of this fundamental work were awarded the USSR State Prize in 1980. The Marine Atlas and Atlas of the World's Oceans have made a substantial contribution to our knowlege of the nature of the world's oceans to enable them to be used for the good of mankind.

"Notices to Mariners" deserve special mention. These weekly bulletins are intended to solve the task of ensuring safety of navigation and contain a large amount of operational hydrographic and navigational information. The 2,200th bulletin since the war was published in March 1987. A total of 53 "Notices to Mariners" bulletins come out annually. They incorporate 10-11,000 different pieces of information. Experienced specialists at the Navy Central Command are responsible for preparing these navigational notices. The latest technology using electronic computer equipment is employed to accelerate the publication of "Notices to Mariners."

The face of cartography is changing in the era of rapid development in the scientific and technological revolution and the extensive introduction of computer equipment in various spheres of human activity. It has become saturated with automation equipment consisting of computer technology and phototechnical apparatus. The use of these facilities in the technological process of compiling maritime charts and manuals and preparing them for publication has made it possible to eliminate a series of operations involving manual labor and reduce the time taken to complete these operations.

The work of the cartographer and compiler of manuals will soon take place before a color graphic display screen linked to a network of electronic computer equipment, which will ensure that charts and manuals are compiled with the aid of digital, cartographic, and textual information in data storage. This will lead to a sharp improvement in labor productivity and eventually make it possible to considerably reduce the time taken to publish charts and manuals.

Air Force To Reduce 'Flood of Paperwork'

PM131327 [Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 January 1988 Second Edition carries on page 2 the reply by Marshal of Aviation A. Yefimov, Soviet Air Force commander in chief and USSR deputy defense minister, to the letter from Guards Major N. Nechayev entitled "In a Flood of Paperwork" frontpaged by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 January 1988 Second Edition.

In the original letter Nechayev complains that "the number of various official documents" received by his unit "is increasing rather than decreasing." He makes the point that many of these documents are drawn up "just to be on the safe side," not only "chaining the regiment's most experienced officers to their desks" but also "undermining respect for documents intended to give guidance" as personnel become blase about them.

In his reply to the letter Marshal of Aviation A. Yefimov writes:

"The facts presented in the letter have been verified by a group of Air Force central apparatus officers in and mainly confirmed." "In line with the defense minister's requirements Air Force staffs are currently carrying out certain work to further improve the procedure for resolving official issues and reduce official correspondence. Instructions have been given to reduce and regulate this correspondence. Personal contact between commanding officers and chiefs is now more broadly employed on a series of issues concerning the forces' everyday life and activity. Official correspondence has been reduced by 10% in comparison to 1986 as a result.

"The stream of official documents sent to the unit, however, indicated in the letter is still considerable, and it takes a lot of time to deal with it. Decisive measures have not been taken to radically reduce this correspondence and superfluous reports. Of the total number of official documents sent to the Air Force regiment, more than 50% originated from personnel stationed at the same Air Force garrison.

"The Air Force Political Directorate and main staff are taking the necessary measures to radically restructure work style and methods, improve the procedure for examining official matters, and reduce correspondence. They envisage a reduction in the number of dispatches and the regularity with which they are sent, as well as the possibility of making wider use of verbal reporting on certain issues. The forms the report should take are to be made more specific so that their number can be reduced."